AN

HISTORICAL REVIEW

OF THE

Commercial, Political, and Moral State of

HINDOOSTAN,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME:

THE RISE AND PROGRESS

OF

CHRISTIANITY IN THE EAST,

ITS PRESENT CONDITION, AND THE MEANS AND PROBABILITY OF ITS FUTURE ADVANCEMENT.

WITH AN

Introduction and Map,

ILLUSTRATING THE RELATIVE SITUATION OF THE

BRITISH EMPIRE IN THE EAST.

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BY ROBERT CHATFIELD, LL. B.

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ERRATA.

INTRODUCTION.

Page xvii, line 7 of note, for the second Ghilan, read Shirvan.

HISTORICAL NOTICES.

4, line 5 from bottom, read revolutions on the globe.
8, line 9, for Yernon, read Yemen.
Ibid. margin, Appendix, No. 18, p. 1. 23.—N. B. the marginal numbers of the Appendix thus marked are wrong throughout the work.
9, line 15, after natives, read of Phœnicia.
10, last line, for Apus, read Cyrus—margin, read *Kur*, and Jihon, the modern name of the Oxus—*ibid.* line 5 of note *, for Sofola, read Sofálá.
13, line 3 of note *, for Sáfá, read Saba—*ibid.* last line but 2 from bottom, read Myos Hormos.
17, line 5 of note †, for the Raj Mahal, read that Rajemal.
20, line 14, dele Renaudot.
25, line 17, for their ancestors, read ancient errors and prejudices.
26, line 13, for cause, read course—*ibid.* line 16, for were, read was.
28, line 2 of note, for Vincent, read Periplus—*ibid.* line 3, dele the, after Barace—*ibid.* line 5, for liptea, read lintea.—*ibid.* last line, for 66, read 166.
28, lines 9 and 13, read Pharaoh, and Xerxes for Hersces.
30, line 12, for That, read The—*ibid.* line 17, for Thegasthenes, read Megasthenes.
31, line 12, beginning at The sea, to p. 83.—This paragraph should have been in a note.
32, line 8, read—through the Caspian Sea, the Oxus then flowing into it, although since diverted into the Aral Lake, or the Desart, by the Tartars, through jealousy of the Russians, and thence—
33, line 3 from bottom, for v, read the fifth son.
41, last line, for Lor, read Lar.
45, line 10 from bottom, for reformation, read revolution
48, line 9, dele now—*ibid.* line 1 of note, read own after his.
49, first line of note †, for The, read After.
50, line 16, for and, read *having*—*ibid.* line 17, after 1671, read *it* became.
60, line 5 of note, for Ctesia, read Ctesiæ.
61, line 8, for Texiles, read Taxiles—*ibid.* line 13, for Gargasidæ, read Gangaridæ—*ibid.* line 26, read Paropamisus—*ibid.* line 3 from bottom, for Sot, read Christ—*ibid.* line 2 from bottom, for Balba, read Balk.
62, line 15, for Avian, read Arian.
67, line 3, read Canouge, and p. 68, 70, and 85, read Malwa—*ibid.* line 10, for Taxilla, read Taxila—*ibid.* line 6 from bottom, for Aginere, read Agimere.
68, line 1, read Naugracut—*ibid.* line 4, for Veeshni, read Veeshnu—*ibid.* line 14, for his successors, read its successors—*ibid.* last line of note, read Paropamisus.
69, lines 10, 16, and 25, read Charasmian, and p. 71.
72, line 10, for loss of plunder, read love of plunder—*ibid.* line 13, for seemed, read seem—*ibid.* line 21, dele however.
73, line 8 from bottom, for their dominions, read *themselves*—*ibid.* line 5 from bottom, read Maver-ol-nere—*ibid.* line 3 of note *, for Jeroscabad, read Feroseabad.
76, line 10, for to her, read when therefore.

Page 79, line 2 of note, for Ichanguer, read Jehanguire; Jehaūn or Gehaun, *ibid.*
84, margin, for Choul, read Chout—*ibid.* p. 86—*ibid.* line 17, for Corinbere, read Coimbere—*ibid.* line 2 from bottom note, after Mogul, read and the Rajah, dele the second *and* next line.
85, line 5, for Rohiland, read Rohilcund.
86, line 6 from bottom, after received, read *their* firmauns.
89, line 16, dele *and* after Daoust or Davoust Ali.
98, line 1 of note, for Indiman's, read *Tondiman's* country.
110, line 1, after inactivity, read *freedom with labour.*
117, line 10, *soon submitted.*—Note. It has been since this was written—*ibid.* line 12, for its, read his own.
127, margin, line 2, for and Campbell, read *of* D. Campbell.
191, last line but 1, read nimiâ tamen superstitione.
208, line 3, for Shiah, read Sheick.
219, line 1 of note, read Τῷ Ασκληπιῷ οφειλομεν αλεκτρυονα.
338, line 6 from bottom, for birth of, read coming of the Messiah.
364, line 18, the sentence beginning *With this view,* to *untaught natives,* should precede the previous one within brackets, after accomplished.
377, line 5, for reflective, read reflecting.
411, line 6 from bottom, for prospects, read projects.
439, line 6 of Appendix, for Indies, read Indus.

INTRODUCTION.

THE earliest accounts we have received of the progress of mankind, from a rude state to civilization and refinement, are derived from the East. In proportion as population increased, and the means of subsistence diminished, numerous tribes separated from the parent stock, in order to people and fertilize new regions. The farther, however, they diverged from their ancient abode, the means of communication became more difficult, and, except in some faint memorials, or obscure traditionary records of a common origin, they do not appear, either in their new settlements, or in their nomadic state, to have preserved any knowledge of the elegant arts, which more immediately contribute to gratify the taste, and improve the comforts of social life.

To the nations which continued in their original settlements of Upper Asia, or to those more immediately bordering upon them, these reflections do not apply. The softness of their climate, and the fertility of their soil, gave them a superiority over the rude inhabitants of the yet uncultivated regions of the North and West, and afforded them a fuller opportunity for the employment of their faculties in things less intimately connected with their essential wants.

As wealth and civilization increased, new desires were created; new sources of pleasure or gratification were alternately discovered and exhausted; until what was at first considered only as matter of choice or of delicacy, became at length an object of paramount importance.

In this state of society, the delicate fabrics of India, which, from its peculiar situation and products, and the taste and ingenuity of its people, could better supply the increasing refinement of the times, were not only earnestly sought for, but became a subject of competition between bordering nations. The importance of this traffic appears early to have engaged the attention of mankind. The Assyrian and Ninevite Empires evidently derived from it a principal source of their power and opulence; although the records which describe the flourishing state of these monarchies, afford us no evidence of the manner in which the intercourse with India was maintained.

It is probable, that about the same period a more extensive commerce, of a similar description, was carried on by means of the Arabian, Æthiopic, or Ægyptian merchants: but we can only trace the proof of its existence, and are left to conjecture as to its more intimate details. The wealth of Syria, and the power of the Tyrians, sprung from the same causes. Carthage had been long flourishing, from the resources of its commercial navy. The connection of David and Solomon with the Princes of Phœnicia, induced them to encourage their subjects to embark in a trade which appeared to have been so lucrative to their neighbours. Of the nature of this trade, or of the places to which their vessels traded, historians are not well agreed: the situation of their country afforded them an easy means of communication with Arabia and the Red Sea; and they probably learned, from the Ægyptians and Idumeans, the value of that commerce which they had immemorially maintained with the East.

The Medo-Persian conquests laid open this trade to more distant regions; the extent and disposition of the Persian Empire, under Cyrus, and some of his successors, removed the difficulties of former communication, and transported the products of India to the farthest shores of the Ægean and Ionian Seas. Under the Persian Empire, the

great cities of Asia Minor divided, with the ancient ports of Syria and Ægypt, the profits of a commerce found by experience so beneficial to the interests of those who had successively carried it on. The cities of Greece which applied to maritime affairs acquired a participation in these advantages from their intercourse with the Asiatic Colonies; and by degrees, the shores of the Bosphorus, the Euxine Sea, and the Lake of Mæotis, were covered with cities, where marts were established for a more immediate communication with the East. The wealth derived from these sources proved of essential benefit to the maritime States, and assisted in supporting them under the pressure of the continual wars, which they were involved in, with those powers, whose principal object was the establishment of a military government.

The policy of Alexander, and the Macedonian Princes of Syria and Egypt, was directed to the same object, and pursued with a steadiness and sagacity unexampled in former ages: nor did Rome, after annexing Egypt to her empire, though accused of indifference to commercial objects, appear wholly insensible to the value of the trade with the East. Alexandria had flourished under the reign of the first Ptolemies, but it rose into new importance under the government of the Roman Emperors.

Under the wretched administration of the Byzantine Princes, and amidst all the troubles which convulsed the Empire, as well from its own intestine dissensions as from the repeated irruptions of the northern hordes, the commerce of the East served to prop the declining fortunes, and to give new vigour to the resources of the State. The *Sogdian* merchants still brought the rich products of Tartary and Farther India to the great marts of Balk and Samarcand, or conveyed them down the Oxus, or the Iaxartes, to the Caspian Sea. Usbeck Tartary. Bactra et Maracanda. Jihon. Sihon.

The invasion of Syria, and the conquest of the Persian Empire

by the Saracens, in the seventh century, threw, at first, considerable obstacles in the regular course of this traffic, until the Arabian Caliphs, acquiring a taste for foreign luxuries, encouraged their subjects to navigate the eastern seas, or endeavoured to secure an exclusive possession of the Indian trade, by conquering those countries, which had hitherto served, as the great marts, between India and Europe. The favour of the Turcomans, and their alliances with the Greek Emperors, preserved, however, this intercourse in defiance of the Arabian power, and kept open the old channel, by which the West had been so long supplied with the products of the East.

After the loss of Egypt, and the ravage of her fairest provinces, both in Europe and Asia, when Adrianople had become the seat of a Turkish Sultan, and nothing remained to the Imperial city of all her ancient splendour, but the sovereignty over her own walls, Constantinople might have still been preserved from the power of the Othmans, had she maintained, by the superiority of her navy, her control over the commerce of the East. But the Greek navy had long fallen to decay, and in the hour of calamity, the defence of the dearest interests of the State was entrusted to strangers, who were perhaps interested in betraying it, or who at least could not be conscious of those claims upon their virtue and patriotism, which in the minds of the brave make death more eligible than defeat and slavery.

Before the fall of the Greek Empire, the Venetians, the Florentines, the Genoese, had alternately divided or disputed the exclusive right to the commerce of the East, and had either risen or decayed in proportion to the share they could maintain in its advantages. Europe was still involved in the darkness of the feudal ages, or only struggling into light, when the Italian States were rich and powerful. The conquest of Constantinople by Mahomet II. in

1453, hastened the expulsion of the Genoese from the shores of the Euxine, and diverted into other channels the eastern commerce. Alexandria and Syria again opened their ports to the vessels of Europe, and leagues of amity and commerce were formed between the Florentines, the Venetians, and the Mahomedans.

The rise and power of the Italian States, the flourishing condition of the Hanseatic Towns, the discovery of the art of printing, and the application of the magnet to the purposes of navigation, seem, however, at this time to have roused the other powers of Europe from the long night of ignorance and barbarism. A taste for Asiatic luxuries had been long excited, by the accounts of the crusaders, together with the specimens which had been brought to Europe, by means of the Italian merchants, and had created a passion for eastern arts and manufactures, which the destinies of the Greek Empire could not overrule.

After various and unsuccessful attempts, the industry of the western nations was at length rewarded, and under the able directions of Henry of Portugal, and the persevering courage of Gama, a new track was discovered to India, which not only facilitated the means of communication between the East and the West, but served to expel the Mahomedans from the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea.

The Portuguese and the Dutch long possessed the sovereignty of these seas; and the power enjoyed in the East by the other nations of Europe was almost too inconsiderable to be deemed a matter of national concern, when a singular concurrence of events brought the Mogul Empire to the brink of destruction, and transferred its fairest possessions to the dominion of Great Britain.

Of all the European naval powers, England was the only one which had not hitherto made any material territorial acquisitions in the East, when the ambition and the intrigues of France compelled her to fight for her independence, until, from having been only an

ally of the Nabob of Arcot, she became, by her conquests, the sovereign of a principal portion of the Carnatic. The English power grew under the dissensions of the native Princes, and the jealousy of the Mogul Omrahs: a succession of brilliant victories and negotiations gave it at length the undisputed sovereignty of India, and advanced its boundaries to the regions of the Punjab, or that country which is watered by the five branches of the Indus.

The immense resources which are supposed necessarily to result from the exclusive trade, which, these conquests had thrown into the hands of England, could not fail to awaken the attention of the other nations of Europe, whom the chance of war or other circumstances had excluded from sharing in its advantages.

France has long viewed the English empire in India with a jealous eye. Anterior to the Revolution, her object was not trade, but dominion; and subsequent to that eventful period, her views have been directed to the same quarter, with a more alarming vigilance. At every Durbar, her Ministers have been active, and her emissaries have been spread through every region where the murmur of disaffection could excite the hope of revolt: nor has her attention been solely confined to the Courts of Hindoostan; the seeds of future revolutions in the East have been long nourished in her capital; the languages of Turkey, Persia, and India, have been taught to the pupils of her military schools, in order, at some future period, to organize rebellion, or assist the efforts of the frontier nations in subverting the British empire in the East.

The campaign in Poland, and the subsequent alienation of Russia from its friendship with England, has probably thrown Alexander into the toils of Buonaparte, and thus removed a material obstacle to his views upon India. Egypt had before been in vain attempted; the defeat at Acre, the battles of the Nile and of Alexandria, destroyed the prospects of the French Emperor in that quarter; but the alliance and co-operation of Russia may enable him to pursue a

more determined, perhaps a more dangerous route. Since the reign of Shah Abbas the Great, the Turks have made on the East and South, and the Afghans on the West, considerable encroachments on the native dominions of Persia. The victories of Nadir Shah revenged on the enemies of his country the injuries she had so long sustained, and scattered dismay from the banks of the Euphrates to the shores of the Ganges; but at his death in 1747, his treasures falling into the hands of Ahmed Shah, the Abdalli, he was enabled, by his wealth and influence, to found a principality at Cabul, and to transmit it quietly to his descendants. The grandsons of Nadir returned to the original obscurity of their family, and Kerim Khan, the Governor of Sheeraz, succeeding his master, as his Vakeel, or Deputy, in the West, his dominion was established over all the countries from the Gulf of Persia to the frontiers of Turkey, including the whole of Persia, except that portion of it still possessed by the Afghans. At Kerim's death, in 1779, new disturbances arose in the Empire; his son and nephews fell, successively, victims to their ambition, or the good fortune of their rivals; and the provinces were again desolated by the arms of the contending Chieftains. Sheeraz and Tahiran became alternately the seat of empire, until the successful capture of the City of Kerman, in 1794, gave an undisputed sovereignty to the Eunuch, Aga Mahomed. Under his government, the City of Tahiran, which is situated about 12 marches "to the Caspian Sea, and little more to Ispahan," was made the capital of Persia, and Mahomed, dying in 1795, the peaceful possession of his throne was transmitted to his nephew, Fatah Ali Shah*, the present Emperor.

Scott Waring's Tour to Sheeraz, p. 275.

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* However quietly the present Monarch may appear to enjoy his throne, the very nature of his Government, and the rooted dislike of many of the Nobles to the Quajars, the tribe to which he belongs, afford a reasonable belief that this tranquillity

Scott Waring's Sheeraz, p. 305.

During the reign, and since the death of Peter the Great, the object of the Russian Court has been to procure a supremacy over the navigation of the Caspian Sea, and its designs have greatly been favoured by the distracted state of the Persian Empire. Its views, however, on the Persian provinces have been, in a great measure, defeated, though Astrachan* has become the

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will not be of long duration. The present family derive their power from an usurper, a tenure, which, in all countries, but more particularly in the East, must always be insecure. The Zunds, whose family has been deposed, are compelled at present to reside in Mazand-eran, but the allegiance they bear is constrained, and might, under a bold adventurer, prove the occasion of fresh troubles to the Empire. The peace even of the Emperor's own numerous family depends on the life of the father, as the sons would no doubt dispute at his death a sovereignty which has for so many years been the prize of the boldest competitor.

Quajars. Forster's Travels. Vol. II. p. 198.

Mr. Forster says, the Kajars, or Quajars, are an extensive tribe, chiefly residing in Mazand-eran and Astrabad; and that the word in the provincial language signifies rebel, or deserter. Like the Rajpoots of India, they devote themselves principally to the profession of arms.

* In the year 1552 the Czar Ivan Basilowitz conquered the Tartar kingdom of Casan, and then subdued the Nogaz Tartars, and took their capital of Astrachan. During the flourishing state of the Turkish and Persian Empires, Astrachan was an important frontier: but since their decay, Russia has been making gradual encroachments. The cession of the Crimea has reduced the Tartar power, and the independence of Georgia and the troubles of Persia have increased the Russian influence, and extended the boundaries of its Empire.

In the year 1722 Peter the Great, with a design of joining his arms to the Persian Prince, in expelling the Afghans, had advanced to the relief of Derbent, but was induced to withdraw, at the instigation of the Turks, then victorious, by the campaign of Pruth.

The Czar was not, however, to be frustrated in his views, another opportunity soon offered, and some troops being embarked at Astrachan, Shirvan and Ghilan were annexed to the Russian Empire. From these provinces, they were, however, driven in 1732, by Nadir Shah, and were only allowed to keep a Resident at the factory at the sea-port of Enzeli, for the management of the Ghilan silk trade. The Russians have never lost sight of the Caspian dominion; it appears they are the constitutional enemies of the Persians, and they frequently

great emporium of the trade between Russia, Tartary, and Persia, and is the principal harbour for the Russian vessels; and since the death of Nadir Shah, who saw and designed to remedy the dangers of any foreign interference in that sea, no attempts have been made by the Persians towards the establishment of a navy. The war, however, carried on by these nations has been of a desultory nature, rather than the competition of two great Empires for sovereignty.

The Turks, so long the scourge both of Europe and Asia, have now so wholly declined, both in arts and in arms, that their power, in a military point of view, scarcely deserves consideration: for the integrity of their Empire is not preserved by any intrinsic virtues in the people or the Government, but by the jealousies of the great potentates by whom it is surrounded.

"The present military force of Persia consists principally of "cavalry, and it is only when they are going against a fort that they

Waring's Sheeraz, c. xii.

take advantage of the distracted state of their country, when the adverse parties are induced to solicit their protection. The Persian vessels are rudely built, ill managed, and only adapted to coast along the shore. The Russians have a considerable flotilla, and their barks are respected at all the ports of the Caspian Sea. It is to be observed, however, that on the Tartar side there are no harbours. Meschid Sir and Balfroush are the principal ports on the Mazanderan shore, Reshd on the Ghilan, the richest Persian province on the Caspian, and Baku on that of Ghilan, where the Russians have a factory and a very powerful influence. Whatever may be the state of the Russian navy in that sea, Mr. Forster thinks its trading vessels cannot have been much improved since the days of Peter the Great. The Persian Government, since the days of Shah Abbas, has shown a distinguished regard to the English, and it is well known, from the Travels of Jonas Hanway, what designs were entertained by Nadir Shah against the Russian influence in that quarter. In Mr. Forster's time, the Russian navy in the Caspian Sea consisted of five frigates of 20 guns, and some tenders. Astrachan is supplied with provisions from the distant provinces on the Volga, the country around it being quite unproductive of grain.

"make use of infantry." It is said, that when the King wishes to assemble his troops, he is certain of having in a few days an army of 50 or 60,000 men. Besides these troops, there is another body of about 20,000, who receive greater pay, have higher privileges, and are deemed the choicest soldiers in the Empire.

An alliance with the Persian Emperor has long been an object of Buonaparte's policy. During the wars in Poland, the Persian forces were to have made a diversion on the Russian possessions on the Caspian Sea; and since the treaty of Tilsit, their co-operation is more effectually to be tried in assisting the march of the French to India.

Waring's Sheeraz. Appendix.

The Persian force, in its present state, is, however, too irregular and undisciplined to excite any alarm as to any attempts to be made by it upon Hindoostan. It is only by the assistance of European officers that it can become dangerous. The Persians possess the first requisite of good soldiers, courage, but under their present wretched Government, and with the offensive weapons * they make use of, and on which they principally rely, this quality would little avail against the regular charges of disciplined troops. It may be justly doubted if the recent alliance concluded between Persia and Russia, under the auspices of France, can ever be lasting, as the relative situation of the two empires will naturally lead to jealousy in the Governments, and hostilities will only be refrained from under the apprehension of the decided superiority of power. The

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Forster's Trav. Vol. II. p. 192.

* The matchlock is the common weapon of the Persian foot soldier, except in the province of Aderbijan, and in some parts of Shirvan and Daghestan, where they have borrowed the Turkish musket; but the practice is highly ridiculed by the body of the people. The Persians, as well as the Afghans, are almost wholly ignorant of the use of artillery.

Since the above has been written, the French papers have announced, that one of their generals, Gardanne, has been lately received at Tahiran with distinguished honours, and that the British influence at the Persian Court has sensibly declined.

Persians look to the other European nations with whom they have maintained any intercourse, with a more favourable attention. The embassy and conciliating conduct of Major Malcolm made an impression upon their minds, which, even subsequent circumstances have not effaced, and which, if properly managed, may still give the English an influence above that of any "foreign power, in their "esteem and regard." Waring's Sheeraz, p. 14.

But it is not improbable that the French Ministers may have been enabled to tempt the ambition, or alienate the attachment of Fatih Ali, before the English can have the means of removing the evil impressions excited against their power. The intimate connection between Persia and France at this period, the general opinion of Europe, and the extreme difficulty by which Great Britain can maintain any correspondence with that Empire, seem to justify this suspicion. If, however, the friendship of Persia, and the means of conciliating her, have not been neglected, it may yet be possible, in defiance of either French or Russian interference, to restore to the English in Persia that character and reputation which they have enjoyed since the reign of Shah Abbas.

The total indifference, or the neutrality of Turkey, in whatever may regard the views of Napoleon upon India, will still farther facilitate the march of his armies; or, should the Porte be compelled to join his standards, the danger to British India would be the more imminent, as the respect still shewn to the Turkish name, in the Asiatic provinces, would, in the hands of an enterprizing general, serve to forward his supplies, and give a more favourable colour to his schemes of conquest.

But before we enter upon the examination of the probable march of the French to India, it will be necessary to give some account of the course which has been pursued by former adventurers. It is well

Mem. M. H. c. xcv. p. 130.

observed by Major Rennel *, to whose excellent maps and correct information we owe our fullest acknowledgments, that the brilliant conquests made in India and Persia, by the Grecian, Patan, and Mogul armies, would cease to astonish us, if we reflected that the Panjab and all the provinces of Western India were not held by any single sovereign, but by several independent princes, who, though occasionally leagued together for their mutual defence, acted, in general, separately, and for themselves. Thus, the moment of victory, instead of weakening the successful army by the losses it had sustained, brought fresh troops to its standards; the allegiance of the natives being, in too many instances, determined by the preponderance of the rival interests, and the invaders acquiring, by their levies, the power of making further conquests in the country. This was even the case of Alexander; he entered India with 35,000 men, and he quitted it with 120,000, and 200 elephants.

Ibid, p. 121.

But the marches of the Macedonian Prince, and of the other great invaders of India, have been so accurately described by the same author, who has collected and compared the opinions of the different writers, who have treated on this subject, that to give any thing more than a slight detail of them, would be only to transcribe his labours.

Major Rennel apprehends, that Alexander never greatly deviated from the direct line of march, from the foot of Caucasus, or the range of mountains called Hindoo Kho, to the Indus near Puckholi, or Peucelaotis. His route from the S. E. Coast of the Caspian Sea, lay through Aria, Zaranga, &c., to Arachosia, or the modern *Herat*, *Zarang*, and *Arokhage*, to the S. of Candahar; thence he marched towards Cabul and Ghizni, crossing mountains covered

* See Major Rennel's Maps in his Memoirs of the Map of Hindoostan, of the countries between the Caspian Sea and Delhi, p. 65 and 200.

with snow. For, to chastize Bessus, who had fled into Bactria, he passed the mountains between Ghourbund and Bamian, at whose foot geographers have placed the Paropamisan Alexandria—the first station, in his future march towards the Cophenes, or the Cow river.

Except Alexander, all the great conquerors of Hindoostan have sprung from the frontier provinces towards Tartary, and the northern parts of Persia, and their route to the interior parts of the country has led through the Panjab. They have, therefore, generally penetrated into India by the way of Cabul, Candahar, and Ghizni, which, notwithstanding its circuitous nature, as it respects Persia, "is both the easiest and the safest, as it avoids the desert, the "rocks, torrents, and mountains, which lie in the direct line be- "tween Candahar and Lahore. This upper Lumghanat, or as it "is named, the King's Road, is the *most practicable* for armies, "and the safest for caravans and travellers, and accordingly the "most in use." Tavernier describes this as the ordinary and beaten road, "that by Moultan is indeed shorter by ten days "journey, but the caravan never goes that way, by reason of the "intervening deserts, where, sometimes for three or four days no "water can be procured." The distance from Candahar to Cabul, he states at 24 days journey, thence to Lahore 22, and to Delhi 18, making 64 days from Candahar to Delhi, and the whole distance from Ispahan to the capital, 153 days.

Rennel's M. M. H. p. 113, 115.

Tavernier's Works, c. vi. P. II. B. I. & V. c. xxiv.

Of Lahore, it may be remarked, that it is a city of the highest antiquity, giving its name to the province of which it is the capital, and standing on the great road leading from Delhi to Persia and Samarcand. It is oftener named Panjab than Lahore, from the five rivers which intersect it before their junction with the Indus. Lahore is one of the largest and most fertile provinces of Hindoostan, abounding in wine, sugar, cotton, wool, and all the necessaries of life. Nor is it only from its fertility, that it deserves our particular consideration, but as it has been from the age of

Rennel's M. M. H. p. 79, 82.

Alexander to the present day, the theatre of those great battles, which have decided the fate of India. It was principally by the valour and enterprize of the troops of this frontier province, that both Alexander and the first Arabian conquerors, were prevented from carrying their victorious arms to the Ganges. Mahmoud, the scourge of Hindoostan, who, in his twelve celebrated expeditions into this devoted country, had traversed its extent from the mountains of Paropamisus to the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna, and from Moultan and Agimere to the shores of the ocean, and the Temple of Sumnaut, saw the value of Lahore, and had met many severe checks from the bravery of its inhabitants, and, therefore, in his tenth expedition, he made it an integral part of the Gaznevide empire.

A. D. 1000.

Maurice's M. H. H. p. 245.

Of the invaders who succeeded Alexander, Mahmoud, in his expedition to Canouge, then the capital of Hindoostan, seems to have travelled by an unusual route, through part of Thibet, or the mountains of Kashmire. His son Massud followed his steps, and by seizing and fortifying the passes of the mountains, secured to his troops, at all times, an easy entrance into the heart of the country. Timur-Bec, or Tamerlane, appears also to have quitted the direct road to Peishore and the Attock, and to have gone by the way of Irjab, Shenuzan, Nughz on the Cophenes or Cow river to Bunnou, and to have crossed the Indus at Deenkote or Chowpareh Pass, about 60 miles below Attock, and, probably, at the same place, where Gelaleddin, King of Karasm, after the defeat of his army in 1221, bravely swam across the torrent, in sight of Gengis Khan and his army. But the reason why Timur thus quitted the usual road to Delhi, of Rotas and Lahore, was probably to reap the advantage of a navigable river for the more convenient supply of his army, and in order the more easily to join his forces to those of his nephew, Peer Mohamed, who was then besieging Moultan, or the country of the ancient Malli, where Alexander was wounded.

Rennel's M. M. H. p. 115.

At the conflux of the Behut and Chunaub rivers, Timur threw over the stream a bridge of boats, and having landed his army, and crossed the Rauvee at or near Toolumba, he marched to Shanawaz, a town on the Beyah, a branch of the Settledge river, where he found abundance of grain, and having been three days in effecting his passage, he was joined at Jenjian, on its southern bank, by his nephew Peer, who had by this time taken Moultan. His grand army thence pursued the direct road to Delhi by Debalpour, whilst he with a chosen band turned to Adjodin, and crossing the desert to Batnir, took that fortress, and rejoined his main force, after encountering considerable hardships, at the appointed rendezvous of Samaneh, about 160 miles from Delhi. Rennel's M. M. H. p. 120.

On his return from India, Timur made an excursion to the N. E. towards the streights of Cupele, probably not far from Loldong, and thence proceeding to the N. W. along the foot of the Sewalic mountains, by Meliapour, Jallindhar, Jummoo, and the frontiers of Cashmire to the Indus, which he again crossed, he revisited Samarcand by his former route.

On the march of Timur's army we find, that it travelled at the rate of thirteen miles and a half each day, the fair season had been chosen for the expedition, and it was, therefore, only five months between the time of its crossing and recrossing the Indus. Whereas Alexander, from ignorance of the climate, was in the field in the Panjab, during the rainy reason, when the rivers overflowing their banks, inundated the level country, destroyed his resources, and often compelled him to shift his quarters to higher ground.

When the Mogul Empire was in the zenith of its glory, Candahar formed a part of its dominion, and was an effectual barrier against the incursions of the Afghan tribes and the Persian princes. But in the troubles which followed upon the death of Acbar, in 1605, Candahar was seized upon by its Governor, who, grown rich by the great traffic of the Caravans between India and Persia, refused to

acknowledge his dependance on the Mogul Empire. Shah Abbas the Great took advantage of this circumstance, and induced the Prince to prefer his alliance to that of the Mogul, on condition that the government should always be vested in one of his own family. The peaceable possession of this fortress, remained in the Persian crown during part of the reign of Abbas's grandson, when it was again surrendered by the Governor into the hands of the Mogul. Shah Abbas II. retook it in 1650, nor could all the efforts of Shah Jehan or Aurengzebe, restore it to its ancient masters: for the Afghans rising into new power, as the Empire of Hindoostan declined, soon seized upon Candahar and the adjoining districts, and thence directed their incursions into the heart of the Persian Empire; and it was in consequence of their continual ravages, that Nadir Shah, having humbled the Turks, and reduced the Turcomans, marched towards their territories, and razing Candahar to the ground, erected upon its site a new city, which he called after his own name, Naderabad, and made the residence of the governors of the country.

Tavernier, B.V. c. xxiv.

A. D. 1737.

Jones's Nadir Shah, Liv. V. c. i. 5.

From Candahar, offended with the pretended insults his ambassador had received at the Court of Delhi, and now resolved upon plundering the capital, Nadir first sent his generals to chastize the Afghans of Ghourbund and Bamian, who, together with the mountaineers of Gazna and Cabul, were either reduced to obedience, or allured by the hope of plunder, to enlist under his banners. The cities of Jalalabad and Cabul were compelled to open their gates, and the governor of Peishore made but a feeble resistance to the Persian arms. His capital (Peishore), followed the fortunes of its chief, and the Persian army marching successfully to Attock, where a bridge had been hastily constructed, was transported, with all its cattle, baggage, and ammunition, to the Eastern shore. The feeble opposition made by the Soubahdar of Lahore, could not long retard its victorious progress. Terror had already preceded its approach,

(Nov. 1737.)

and paralyzed the forces of the western commanders, whilst treachery was also fatally employed in accomplishing what could not be effected by force. Lahore easily fell; the rivers of the Panjab were passed with the same facility as the torrent of the Attock *, and the devoted Mahmoud, with a disheartened army, awaited the approach of the conqueror, on the plains of Carnaul.

Having remained at Delhi 57 days, Nadir, now sated with blood and plunder, marched on his return to Sirhind, and thence deviating from the usual track, led his army along the foot of the mountains, crossing the higher beds of the Panjab rivers, which July 1758.
were then considerably swoln by the rains, and accompanied by the Soubahdar of Lahore, then ceded to him with other districts in full sovereignty, he crossed the Chunaub, and subduing all the independent Afghans of the mountain regions between that river and the Attock, returned to Cabul by the route of Peishore, Khyber, and Jelalabad.

From Cabul, Nadir next directed his arms towards Sindy†, one of the provinces lately annexed to his Empire, in consequence of the treaty of Delhi. It was then winter, but the Persian Prince was not to be deterred by trifling difficulties, and the mountainous regions once surmounted, the country of Sindy offered to his hardy soldiers a more temperate climate. Having rapidly passed the intervening forests and mountains, with the assistance of his Kerman army,

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* Tavernier says, that in the months of July and August a hot wind blows in the parts between Candahar and Cabul, similar to that of the Samel of the desert, and the Scirocco of the coast of Africa, which is often fatal both to man and cattle. Attock, whilst in the hands of the Moguls, was one of their best and strongest garrisons, and no stranger was permitted to enter it, without a passport from the king.

† Sindy is tributary to the present King of Cabul, and held by a Mahomedan Prince.—Rennel's Mem. M. H. p. 184.

and the vessels he had sent down the Indus, he easily subdued the forts that impeded his progress, and after visiting Tatta, which he gave, with some other districts, to one of his favourite generals, he returned in safety to Candahar, which, from his first setting off for Delhi, to this period, he had not visited for more than two years.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the supposed routes of the Afghan successors of Nadir in his Indian possessions. Achmet Abdallah probably followed the steps of his master, as the country was now so well known to his troops, whose principal object was plunder, as to render the usual road the safest and most convenient. His own patrimonial territories aided also his arms and his resources, and the greatest dangers he had to encounter, were not so much from the Kings of Delhi, or the perfidious Omrahs who betrayed their trusts, as from the brave and hardy Seiks, who, rising amidst the ruins of the empire, presented a barrier to invasion, which, though not then altogether successful, has in a great measure checked the progress of future adventurers.

But to return to the subject of the supposed invasion of India by the armies of France. Two routes have been traced for the march of the combined Russian and French armies towards the Persian frontier, supposing that the expedition is conducted not only with the consent of the King of Persia, but that every thing necessary for the subsistence of the armies, shall be furnished by him on their passage through his territories. One point of departure is from the duchy of Warsaw; the other from Dalmatia; Astracan to be the place of rendezvous. By the former route, the march will be more difficult, as the greater part of it must be performed by land; by the latter, the Russian vessels on the Black Sea will lessen the fatigue of the soldiers, and transport them to the right shore of the Sea of Azof. Thence, crossing the Don, they will march to Czaritzin on the Volga, where boats will be

prepared to convey them to Astracan, at which place, they will probably be joined by the Russian reinforcements. The march by the former route has been computed at 560 leagues *, and may be accomplished in three months, that from Dalmatia at about half the distance and half the time.

Of the practicability of either of these schemes, with the aid of a Russian fleet in the Euxine, and the supplies that may be furnished by that power in the march from the Sea of Azof to the Volga, no reasonable doubt can exist. The passage of the Caspian Sea is also secured by the Russian transports, and nothing but the dangers of the navigation can prevent the combined armies from landing either at Astrabad or Balfroush on the S. E. shore, where the Persian alliance can alone contribute to the security of their farther progress.

The connection of Russia with France, and the neutrality or assistance of Turkey, open also to the ambitious views of Napoleon, other means of compassing his great object, should even these be frustrated. The various routes from Europe to Persia and India, pursued either by the caravans or the Turkish armies, have been ably described by many writers of the seventeenth century, and from Tavernier, Chardin, and Knolles, we may derive a satisfactory account of the various countries of Asia Minor, which formed the first empire of the Othmans under the descendants of Togrul Bey and Soliman. Tavernier, who had frequently visited the East, gives a faithful picture of the intermediate countries between Europe and India, nor is it probable, that any material alterations have since taken place in them, for both the Turkish and Persian empires have long been stationary as to all improvement, or if any changes have been made in arts and manners, they are, it is to be feared, of a retrograde nature.

Knolles's H. T. p. 76, 137. Cantemir's Hist. Turks, p. 8. &c.

* The distance by land from Astracan to Czaritzin is 260 miles. Thence is a chain of redoubts to the nearest point of the Don of 40 miles.

The most usual route for the caravans from Constantinople to the East, as described by this author, is through the upper part of ancient Bithynia, and the provinces bordering upon the coast of the Black Sea, to Amasia and Tocat, where, the branch of mountains stretching from Imeritta and Guriel, separate Armenia from the Lesser Asia, and whence the Frat or Euphrates derives its principal source. Hence, to Erzerum, the frontier town of Turkey towards Persia, through Kars, and Erivan. This part of the Lesser Asia abounds with Greeks and Armenians, who, though tolerated in their religion, are otherwise heavily oppressed, and bear towards the Turks the most invincible hatred. Many parts are also desolate and ill peopled, for the policy of a barbarous age, nor has the light of science *since* improved its descendants, induced the Persian Princes to ruin all the country bordering on the frontiers of Turkey, and Shah Abbas, who is generally called the Great, laid waste the intermediate districts, and transported all the inhabitants of Julfa and other Armenian towns, either to Ghilan or the neighbourhood of his capital.

From Erzerum to Erivan, it is a caravan journey of twelve days, in which the road is continually intersected by the river *Aras*. From this city, near the site of the ancient Artaxata, the capital of the Armenian Kings, is a march of ten days to Tebriz or Tauris, which, in the time of Tavernier, was a rich and flourishing city, and the great commercial resort of Turks, Indians, Georgians, Muscovites, and Tartars; Naksivan, or, as it is called in the maps, Nagjowan, being almost in the midway between both.

The road from Erivan to Tauris, lies across the rivers *Kur*, *Cyrus* and Aras, *Araxes*, which, after receiving many tributary streams, wind through the mountains of Upper Armenia, and forming a junction two days journey from Shamaki, on the frontiers of the ancient Medes, thence fall into the Caspian Sea. Between these cities there are fertile plains, watered by the streams which abun-

dantly issue from the Median mountains. At Julfa, a day's journey from Nagjowan, the toll is usually collected from the caravans, and the Aras is again crossed. The bed of the river is here said to be considerably deeper, but being confined between mountains, it is only navigable for boats two leagues below the town, when emerging into the plains, it continues a more regular course towards the rich province of Ghilan, and the Caspian Sea. The mountains of all this country (the ancient Media) are extremely fruitful, and abound in corn, wine, and fruits. The water is not however always salubrious, from its being strongly impregnated with salt.

From the city of Tebriz* to Ardebil, the distance is only twelve leagues; its neighbourhood to Ghilan and Shamaki, renders it the mart for a great trade in silk and other merchandize; thence to Casbin is a journey of five days, through a country rather desolate and rugged; Denghé is the next considerable town, in this route, where all the caravans meet that travel from Candahar, Smyrna, and Europe.

It will be unnecessary to pursue the route from Casbin to Tahiran, the modern capital of Persia, and the principal point of direction for the combined armies, in the event of the co-operation of the Persian Emperor. Or if we suppose the Aras to be navigable below Julfa, it will be easy for the commanders to send their supplies and heavy baggage by that river to the Caspian Sea, whilst the troops, taking their departure from Nagjowan, follow the easiest route by land.

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* The caravan generally goes from Tebriz to Ispahan in twenty-four days. From this city two roads branch off to the capital, either by Ardebil or Casbin, or by the village of Zangan, and the great cities of Sultanie, Kom and Kashan. A great part of these roads is described as being rugged, the country sterile, and in some places so deficient in water, or so impregnated with salt, except what is collected in cisterns from the mountains, that it cannot be drunk either by man or beast.

Nor is it impossible, that from Ardebil to Baku, a principal post on the Caspian Sea, and where the Russians, under the protection of their flag, carry on a considerable trade, a more expeditious road might be found. If, however, the mountains should oppose an insurmountable barrier, the old road by Sultanie and Casbin, opens a passage into the plains of Ghilan, by Reshd its capital, where the Russian influence has been long predominant.

With the Russian fleet in the Euxine Sea, attending the movements of the French armies, detachments might also be conveyed from the Danube, and be landed at Trebisond, or at other ports on that coast, whence, by a route nearly similar to that pursued by the Colchian merchants, and the Greeks of the lower empire, they might march through Georgia to the nearest point of the Caspian Sea; or continuing their route inland, might advance to Astrabad through Tebris, Miana, and Mazanderan. The march from Dalmatia to the Dardanelles is neither long nor difficult, and it is possible that another body of troops might cross the Hellespont, and marching through Anatolia, Kerman, and Roum, the mountainous passes of which provinces are no longer dreaded, might follow the old route of the Persian and Othman armies. Pursuing either of these roads, it is certain that the fatigue to the soldiers would be inevitably greater, but then nothing but the physical obstacles of the country and climate could prevent their junction with the main body, at any given point of rendezvous.

Dangers of British India, p. 50.

Let us, however, suppose that these difficulties have been surmounted, and that the army has been not only safely landed on the S. E. of the Caspian Sea, but prepared for its march to the Indus; it is still to be recollected that its route is through a country strong by nature, and inhabited by a brave and warlike people. If the Turcoman and Usbeck Tartars, who are ever hovering on the frontiers, should not interrupt its course, the Afghans are either to

be subdued or reconciled; nor did Alexander dare to advance upon India, till he had conquered the countries which now form the provinces of *Balk**, and Maver-ul-nere.

The dominions of the Prince of Cabul, not only include the fair and fertile regions of Cabul, Moultan, Cashmire, and Sind, in Hindoostan, but extend over the provinces of Candahar and Khorasan. The military power of this Prince has been so variously estimated, that it is difficult to give a correct account of it. When his projected invasion of Hindoostan was announced at Delhi, and spread to Calcutta, his standing army was magnified to 100,000 cavalry, and his revenue swelled to more than three millions sterling; subsequent accounts have, however, removed this delusion, and reduced his force to 30,000 men, and his revenue to a million sterling. Cavalry is his principal military strength, being easily supplied with horses from Tartary. The few infantry he possesses are armed with matchlocks, and are little superior to the undisciplined soldiery of India. Over his Indian dominions, the Prince of Cabul holds scarcely more than a nominal sway. The Afghans between Peishore and the capital, infest the public roads, pillage the caravans, and live in open violation of all authority. They are called *Hybers*, and are, according to Mr. Forster's statement, a hardy and ferocious banditti. In the year 1783, no revenues had been remitted from Sind for two years, and the governor of Moultan paid only obedience to the demands of the Court, when it suited his own purposes. The chief strength of the Afghan Prince, is probably derived from the weakness of his neighbours; and were the Seiks less jealous of the power of their own chieftains, or Persia restored to a portion of its an-

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* The city of Balk is about 200 miles to the N. W. of Cabul. The adjacent parts of Usbeck Tartary, of which Balk is the capital, acknowledge a species of dependency on the Prince of Cabul.

cient splendour, the Afghan power would in all probability be soon annihilated. The portion of Khorasan possessed by the Afghans, extends nearly to Tarshiz; Meschid is its modern capital, as Aria or Herat were anciently.

See Dow's Hindoostan, History of Nadir Shah.

In estimating the relative situation of these countries, it may be observed that the Persian Princes have long viewed with jealousy and abhorrence, the Afghans ruling over territories wrested from their empire in the hour of calamity, and it is justly believed that they wait only a favourable opportunity of re-annexing them to their crown.

The mutual antipathy of the two nations is indeed too deeply rooted, both from the memory of former injuries, and the still stronger force of religious bigotry, to be reconciled upon principles of mutual advantage, and nothing perhaps but compulsion could oblige the Afghans to join the Persian armies, or contract an alliance with their ancient rivals. Nor is it probable that the present Prince of Cabul, however Zemaun Shah may have been influenced by Tippoo in 1798, in his projected invasion of Hindoostan, will readily be induced to favour the progress of a foreign power, when directed by his inveterate enemies*.

But whatever may be the policy and resolution of the reigning Sovereign, or of the factious chiefs who dispute his authority, the opinions of military men incline to the belief, that it is possible for the combined army, even in defiance of the Afghans, to pursue their march towards the Indus: for whether this march be directed by the side of Tartary through Cabul, or by that of Persia

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* Zemaun Shah was deposed and deprived of sight by his brother Mahomed Shah, who appears to have entertained the same views upon India, and to have been instigated by the Afghan chieftains to fall upon Oude. The diversion made by Persia, and domestic troubles, stopped Zemaun Shah when he was in full march to Hindoostan, in compliance with his engagement with the French and Tippoo. Zemaun, though blind, has since been restored to the throne by another revolution.

through Candahar, both fortresses, justly called the gates of India, belong to the Afghans, and could not, in their present condition, resist a long siege, especially if carried on under the direction of European engineers. Ghizni, Peishore, and the principal places of the intervening districts, may then be either reduced to obedience, or invited to adopt the cause of the invader, or at least they will be enabled to oppose no material difficulties to his farther progress.

Arrived at Attock, situated on the confines of the river of that name with the Indus, and which has been the crossing place of all the ancient and modern invaders of India *, if the English forces and their allies should not be drawn out or prepared to resist them,

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* The distance from the S. E. extremity of the Caspian Sea, to the town of Attock on the Indus is, in a direct line, 1130 miles; from Attock to Delhi 587. The whole distance then from Astrabad to Delhi is 1717 miles; or allowing for the deviation of roads, about 2200 miles.

Dangers of British India, p. 60, 140.

The march from the Caspian Sea to the Indus cannot occupy less time than 20 weeks.

Mr. Forster crossed the Indus about 20 miles above the town of Attock. The stream was rapid, and about a mile in breadth, where not interrupted by islands. Any attempt to force its passage must be extremely dangerous. The Indus is the strong barrier of Hindoostan to the West, and should have been the grand stand of the Indians, at the period of the Tartar, Persian, and Afghan invasions.

Forster's Travels, Vol. II. p. 46, 47.

Supposing that the combined army should land on the shore of Mazanderan, their route towards the Indus would be through Khorasan and Afghanistan to Candahar and Cabul. Mr. Forster describes the eastern division of Khorasan, as scantily supplied with wood or water. From Shahroot, Tershiz, "*Herat*," to Candahar, except in some few instances, it is a sterile plain, interspersed with small rocky hills, without rivers, wood, or scarcely a place of human habitation, the soil light and sandy, and producing nothing but a weed, on which the camels feed. About Candahar the country is flat and a little better cultivated; but between this place and Cabul, it is cold, sterile, and without wood. The part of Mazanderan nearest the Caspian Sea, abounds in wood and rapid streams, and the W. and N. W. of Khorasan, is better cultivated.

Antique Asia.

on the opposite shore, the passage may be effected without much difficulty, as the traffic of the river, and the forests bordering on its sources, would furnish the means of a ready transportation. The Indus once crossed, the line of march lies through the Afghan territories, and the dominions of the brave and independent Seiks, through a country richly supplied, but capable of being rendered dangerous to an invading army, by its natural defences, and the harrassing attacks of a light and active cavalry.

Rennel's M. M. H. p. 70. Ant. *Hesudrus.*

The dominions of the Seiks are bounded on the N. and W. by Delhi, by the rivers *Setledge* and Jumna, and the Gomaun mountains. They are a tribe of Hindus of a particular sect, addicted to war, and independent in their manners and principles, they live under a republican form of government, and bear to their neighbours, the Afghans, an invincible hatred. This hatred has arisen from the memory of the long and bloody wars they have mutually waged, which has led to the present disposition of their several territories. The forces of this warlike people, properly directed against the Afghans, might prove infinitely beneficial to the British interests, for though a peace nominally exists between the two nations, it would not be difficult to induce either party to espouse the quarrel of a powerful protector.

These are the principal powers which lie on the march of a French army from the Caspian Sea to the Panjab, where, the late conquests over the Mahrattas, have fixed the frontiers of the British Empire in India. Of the effective strength, points of defence, and means of co-operation of these powers, it has been the author's design only briefly to speak *, as it did not seem properly to belong to a treatise principally designed to illustrate the revolutions, which have taken place in the commerce of India, and its relative importance to the British Empire. It is the importance of this connection

* See Pamphlet, Dangers of British India, 1808. Forster's Travels.

which has induced him to deviate from his original design, and to attempt a faint outline of the dangers with which it is threatened. He wished only to prove that the commerce of the East has ever been a principal source of wealth and power to the nations by whom it has been carried on: He wished only to give a clear and connected view of the various revolutions which India has undergone, and to prove that the present unexampled power of England, is, in a great measure, to be ascribed, to the wealth, she has derived from her Indian possessions. If his labours shall have contributed to rouse his countrymen from that listlessness, of which they have been too long accused, in all that regards the commercial and political relations of India, his reward will be ample. Too much attention cannot indeed be paid to a subject, on which our national prosperity so materially depends; for our great political rival is too wise not to perceive, that, as long as Great Britain possesses a powerful navy, and has besides the means of so easily maintaining it, by her rich and extended commerce, all his efforts to reduce her to the subjection of the continent, will be vain and ineffectual.

The effects of the continental war have not yet ceased to operate in Europe, and their influence seems destined, at no very distant period, to produce very powerful consequences in the more remote regions of the East. The policy of the French Emperor is not confined to the arrangements of Germany, Italy, and Poland; and though peculiar circumstances may, for the present, save the wreck of what was once the mighty Empire of the Othmans, from the ruin that inevitably awaits it, his aspiring mind grasps at new conquests, and from the throne of Delhi, aims a deadly blow against the power and prosperity of Great Britain. Let not any man presume to calculate upon the distance, the incertitude, the dangers of any expedition, to be undertaken by Europeans, so far from their own country, or to brand it as wild and romantic. To minds inured to danger, and with bodies hardened by incessant labour, toil and pain are inferior con-

siderations. The waters of the Danube and the Euxine, the Don and the Volga, the shoals of the Caspian, the forests of Mazanderan, the sandy plains of Khorasan, the barren rocks of Herat, the mountains of the Paropamisus, or the petty warfare of the Afghan hordes, can present no obstacles to those, who have fought and conquered on the banks of the Po, the Rhine, the Elbe, and the Vistula; or have borne the privations of a Polish winter. Accustomed to conquer, they may be soon taught to despise every peril that thwarts their progress to victory. Stimulated by the remembrance of former glories, if they think on their absent friends and companions, it may only be to contrast with their exploits, the bright deeds which they are preparing to achieve. "Did not," they will say, "Alexander trace the same victorious course? have not the Tartar, "the Persian, and the Afghan, successfully invaded and conquered "the fertile regions before us? and were the sons of Macedon, "or the undisciplined myriads of Timur, Nadir, or Abdallah, "more brave, or more powerful than the soldiers of Napoleon? "The empire of the world is the prize of our valour, and England "is only to be conquered on the banks of the Indus and the Ganges."

Not however that it should be inferred, allowing the combined army to have reached in safety the W. banks of the Indus, that it has been joined by Persia, subjugated or allied the Afghans, and that Cabul and Candahar have yielded to its arms, that no further difficulty awaits its progress, or that its boasts are to be realized without a nobler struggle. Will the warlike Seiks *, who have so long and so bravely

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Forster's Travels, Vol. I. p. 289.

* Seiks (Mr. Forster calls them Sicques, and Raynal Scheiks.)—I have endeavoured as much as possible, in Eastern names, to follow Sir William Jones and Major Rennel. The Seiks may probably be enabled to bring into the field 200,000 horse; a force in cavalry, greater than that of any other state in Hindoostan. The Seik nation has not, however, been engaged in any common measures of offensive warfare, since the Afghan invasion, although their power has been, from the disturbed state of the provinces, continually increasing.

resisted the inroads of their Afghan neighbours, suffer them to advance in peace under the banners of an invading army, which may have probably stipulated as the reward of their safe conduct, the surrender of their own rights and independence? Will the Rajpoot Princes, the natural allies of England, refuse to join their forces with those troops, who, remembering the victories of Plassy and Buxar, and still covered with the hard-earned laurels of Delhi, Assye, and Laswarree, burn with impatience to measure again their bayonets with an enemy, whom, in India, they have always conquered? Shall the Eastern shore of the Indus be left open and defenceless, and the Panjab offer no obstructions to an invading army, or shall the enemy be suffered to advance to the ominous plains of Carnawl and Panniput, and the meed of empire be effeminately contended for, when the towers of imperial Delhi are almost placed within his view? No! the English army will still do its duty, and scorn to stain those laurels, which have now flourished under the growth of sixty years of success and victory. But allow this army all the glory it deserves; allow even what is, from the fickle state of the Indian mind, a matter at best problematical, that the Seiks and the Rajpoots are inclined to the English alliance, and active in its cause, this will not prove that the powers from the Indus to Cape Comorin and the Ganges, are well affected to a dominion which has so frequently given them cause of suspicion and distrust, nor will it remove the apprehension, that the seeds of revolt and disgust are not thickly sown amongst the *Sepoys** in our own service. What then could a handful of British

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* The mutiny at Vellore, and other symptoms of sedition manifested amongst the native troops in the Carnatic, seemed strongly to indicate that other causes besides the intrigues of Tippoo's sons, had alienated the minds of the soldiers.

The measure of interfering with the religious distinctions of either Hindus or Mahomedans, is so fraught with danger, that we ought not so much to be astonished at the event, as at the folly, which gave birth to it. It is said, "that the slightest breath "will often turn the tide of popular favour; and that an Eastern commander, in- Scott Waring's TourtoSheeraz, p. 264.

troops, however ardent, however brave, effect against an enemy, equal or superior to it perhaps, in point of numbers, and having, besides, the powerful aid of religious prejudices to benumb, or divert the co-operation of its auxiliary forces?

In reasoning upon human events, independent of any immediate interposition of Providence, it is the duty of man in his individual state, and much more in a state of society, to consider the means he possesses for the accomplishment of any particular end. If, therefore, political wisdom be something more than an empty name, let us attend to that precept, which teaches us, to compare the object we have in view with our capacity to obtain it; or to bring the subject more home to our reflections, that Great Britain should well consult her ability to defend an empire, so distant and extensive, from the combined efforts of a French and Russian Asiatic army, assisted by those powers, whom, rooted antipathies or recent injuries, have alienated from our cause. Looking only to the map of India, England possesses a territory, great in extent, and flourishing in resources; the strength of a kingdom does not, however, consist in the extent of its dominions, or the number of its people, but in its union and compactness; in the celerity with which its strength may be called into action, and its forces made to bear upon any given point. Is it not then necessary to examine, how that power is

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" stead of looking up to his troops for protection, often considers them his most " dangerous enemies: that, obedience in the East is the reward of cruelty; and that " the successes of Zenghis Khan, Timour, and Nadir Shah, were chiefly to be " attributed to the severity of their discipline." But, whatever may be the peculiar effects of climate, in altering some of the feelings of men: the force of nature is too strong not to shew, that a people ruled with lenity, cannot always be insensible of gratitude, and that obedience preserved by cruelty, rests only on a sandy foundation; whilst discipline, tempered with mildness, and respecting the habits and observances of men, in whatever condition they are placed, must always produce the most beneficial consequences.

united, how all the parts which connect the mighty Empire of British India, are combined in any consistent whole? How is rebellion kept down at present, but by the strong arm of power? Are Scindiah and Holkar favourable to the British cause, or have they forgotten their recent defeats, and the prize of dominion snatched so rudely from their grasp? Have the other Mahratta powers assimilated with a government which has humbled their pride, and contracted the sphere of their exertions? The memory of the Chout *, the peculiar system of their government, their annual campaigns of plunder, the very collection of the revenues, which support the Princes and the nation, always paid with *reluctance*, and for the most part *extorted by force*, will urge them to seize with avidity, the first moment which offers itself of casting off an alliance, not cemented by affection, but imposed by *a hard* necessity.

The Rohillas have not forgotten the ungenerous interference of the British army in 1774, and the surrender of their liberties to the dominion of Oude. They are still brave, warlike, and industrious, and their incorporation with the British territories in Oude, may rather prove a source of danger than of triumph. Is even the vassal state of Oude, so long the seat of British intrigues, so long accustomed to misrule and rebellion, pleased with the changes that have been made in her provinces, or inclined to favour the future designs of her Liege Lord? Are the Mahomedan chieftains, the Jauts or the Seiks, prepared to join the British standards, or to participate in the contest which must decide the fate of India?

Forster's Travels, Vol. I. p. 98, 101, 168, 176.

Under a wise and able government, not a moment should be lost to resist an evil of such tremendous magnitude; and if the chances

* A grant of the fourth part of the revenues of the southern provinces, was made to them by Aurungzebe.—See p. 84—86.

of war, or the effects of political arrangements have consigned so large a portion of Hindoostan to the British Empire, no alternative remains but to meet the danger at the breach. Whilst disputes are agitated about forms and precedents, whilst divisions are made in the Senate, and among the multitude, about the necessity of concession, or the justice of new acquisitions, behold the enemy is at the gates. No concession will disarrange the projects of the modern Alexander; no friendship or peace will soften his resentments, or disconcert his views. He has made the fall of England as indispensible as that of Carthage was to Rome; he has made his own aggrandizement to rest upon humbling his rival in the dust; and he looks to the subjection of British India, as the most effectual means of annihilating the British power in Europe.

In such a crisis, delay would be dangerous, "*fas est et ab hoste doceri.*" Is the enemy brave and active, does he employ the best means to compass his purposes; let the policy of his rival be the same, let her counsels be dictated by the same prudence, and acted upon with the same resolution; the chances of success are then equalized, and the justice of the cause will at length preponderate. The power acquired by England in India, if wisely employed, may be the means of acquiring more, or rather of consolidating beyond the power of accident, that which it already possesses: but if with a foolish policy such measures are persisted in, the apparent motive, or ultimate aim of which, is only to divide, to weaken, and to irritate the Native Powers, without contributing any thing to their essential benefit; if they are led to suppose that our object is only plunder, or the gratification of a restless ambition; if any undue interference is made, or any interference sanctioned, hostile to the religious habits of the people, before others have been superinduced by time, a lenient government, and the fostering hand of education and refinement, by which alone the change from ancient opinions becomes less sensible, and the dislike to new principles less repugnant, Eng-

land will act the part of a state madly bent upon its ruin, and only kindle the flame for its own extinction.

It is indeed easy for a government to murder and destroy its subjects, without adding a particle of strength or of happiness to its empire; and though, by spreading divisions among its neighbours, its nominal power may for a time be augmented, the evil will eventually fall on its own head, and sap the foundations of its welfare and security. The real strength of an empire is in the wisdom and justice of its government. The principles of justice will remain firm and unshaken, whether influencing individuals or nations, when all other systems have perished and decayed. Already is the English frontier of Oude advanced to within three or four hundred miles of the Afghan provinces of Lahore and Cashmere;—the thirst of dominion should now yield, to the benevolent design of ameliorating the condition of the natives, and removing by lenient measures their rooted prejudices against a foreign influence. The Hindus and the Mahomedans, may, perhaps, be dragooned into a formal confession of Christianity, or be compelled to shew tokens of love and submission; but the obligations imposed by such severe expedients are as weak, as the injustice that dictated them, is dangerous and flagrant. They will only serve to increase the alienation which it is an imperious duty to remove, and add to the myriads whom the successful march of an invading army will draw around its standards.

If India be worth preserving, and its commerce be a main source of our present political greatness, the energies of the state must be instantly called into action, in adopting the most prompt and decisive measures, to avert a blow which threatens not only the British Empire in the East, but perhaps the existence of Britain as an independent nation. Whatever sanguine hopes might have been indulged and countenanced in Parliament, of the growing prosperity of India in 1801, have now, it may be presumed, in

Lord Melville, 30th June, 1801.

consequence of the revolutions both in Europe and Asia, become more precarious; the dangers threatening from the East cannot but rivet the attention even of the most ignorant and thoughtless, nor can the pressure of the times in 1784, be compared to the alarming crisis of 1808. Nothing but a happy combination of efforts both at home and abroad, can secure the empire from the storm, that is ready to assail it. Nothing but a zeal united with knowledge, a courage directed by prudence, a wisdom uninfluenced by party or prejudice, can save the commerce, and with it, the sovereignty of India from falling under the influence of France.

It may perhaps be urged, that the *late* revolution in Spain, and the present convulsed state of Europe, may lead to political changes, which will remove to a greater distance the dangers we have been describing. But it will be of little avail, to have removed the evil, if it may recur with more alarming symptoms, and probably at a period, when we are less prepared to meet it. It requires, indeed, no great effort of ingenuity to prove, that the consequences of our late measures have diminished the security of our Eastern Empire. But men are naturally pleased with the brilliant detail of conquests; and look not so much to the result, as to the splendour of a victory. Whilst the irritation of the public mind continues in Hindoostan, whilst the French, whoever is their ruler, are enabled to intrigue with the bordering states, the seeds of disaffection may easily be matured to revolt, and occasions will never be wanting to diffuse them.

The causes which have led to the late political changes in Hindoostan, and the importance of the commercial intercourse of the Western nations with the East, will be the subject of the following pages—in which, also, some account will be rendered, of the various religious creeds of the natives, and of the attempts that have been made, both in ancient, as well as more recent periods, to convert them to Christianity.

HISTORICAL NOTICES, &c.

PART I.

COMPREHENDING A CHRONOLOGICAL DETAIL OF THE HISTORY OF THE COMMERCE OF THE EAST, AND A COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF ANCIENT AND MODERN INDIA UNDER ITS RESPECTIVE SOVEREIGNS.

CHAP. I.

EARLY COMMERCE OF THE EAST WITH EGYPT, ETHIOPIA, ARABIA, PERSIA, PHŒNICIA, AND GREECE.

EXPERIENCE has shewn that the improvement of mankind is often promoted by means which at first view appear paradoxical; and amongst these, that war and conquest, as well as the arts of peace, though by causes diametrically opposite, tend sometimes to civilization and happiness. The causes are laid in the nature of man, in the structure of his mind, his appetites and passions, which lead him to society and government, to commerce and correspondence, to common laws and compacts.

Man is impelled to society by the strongest principles of his nature. The untutored savage confines himself not wholly to the gloom and solitude of his native forests, but seeks the intercourse of his peculiar tribe. This intercourse, as his wants increase, becomes daily more essential to his happiness; and what was at first a matter of choice, is in time an object of necessity.

Ferguson's Moral Science, Vol. II. p. 301.

"It appears to be the condition in the order established throughout this habitable globe, that no lot is so completely made up as not to admit of accession by supply from abroad, and none so deficient as not to have somewhat to spare; hence the superfluities of one nation are exchanged for those of another which are wanted *. The object of commerce seems therefore to level the condition of men in all the variety of their situation, and to compensate original defects by adventitious supplies." But "nations must have been long civilized before they could acquire even the simplest ideas of barter, or exchanging one rude commodity for another." As the wants of a savage life are few, and the labours of pasturage severe, knowledge must have been considerably advanced, before a separate tribe would think it essential to inquire into the productions of a neighbouring canton, or of disposing of their own superfluous stores, to acquire others of which they had either a real or imaginary want. It is probable, and indeed history warrants the assertion, that the first great steps towards national intercourse, after the dispersion of mankind, were rather directed by the imperious necessities of war, than the milder dictates of peace. But the petty tribes that were successively conquered by a victorious chieftain, as they were generally associated under the same laws,

Robertson's Works.

Sonnerat Voy. aux Indes, Vol. II. Liv. IV.

* "Le commerce seul peut réparer les inégalités de la population, et des productions de la terre; et le peuple le plus commerçant et le plus maritime, est non seulement le plus assuré de sa subsistance, mais il tient encore dans ses mains celle des autres nations."

were gradually formed into one community. The prejudices of barbarous nations are easily subdued. The Goths, who had long hovered on the Roman borders, soon adopted the manners of their neighbours, and were easily converted to christianity. A similarity of wants soon produces a communion of interests; the benefits resulting from mutual acts of kindness become daily more perceptible; the laws assume a new tone, as they are found to embrace a greater variety of objects; all the faculties of the mind are roused and invigorated; the consideration of the public good rises paramount to private attachments; and thus are the calamities of war softened by the spirit of patriotism and the dictates of benevolence.

The dreadful ravages made by a few barbarous hordes, or ferocious warriors, do not contradict the tenor of the general rule. Where they have not founded kingdoms on the ruins of those which they have desolated, or where they have not assimilated with the vanquished, a sudden defeat, or an unexpected revolution, has driven them from their conquests, or forced them back to the wilds from whence they issued: their career has been as transient as their prosperity; like the lightning which darts through the heavens, and leaves no trace of its luminous progress, but in the blasted oak, or the ruined tower.

It may also be generally observed, that where the conquerors have finally prevailed or settled with the vanquished, it was at a period when the people were too feeble, too debased for resistance, and the dynasty too abject and effeminate to hold the reins of a tottering government in their own hands. The supremacy thus transferred to those whose minds were susceptible of improvement, and whose ardent spirits, when no longer occupied with the toils of war, could be turned with fervor to the cultivation of the peaceful arts, instead of being an object of regret, is rather a subject of exultation; it is a rescue from a bondage far more terrible than bodily servitude—the slavery of the mind, and the tyranny of the passions.

The martial but untutored Romans received their first ideas of the elegant arts from the spoils of Corinth and of Syracuse, and the subjection of Greece, which had in like manner borrowed and improved upon the science of Egypt and Phœnicia.

The Gauls and the Britons were alike compelled by the sword of the conqueror to renounce their wandering lives, to associate in towns, and to familiarize themselves to regular laws and habits of obedience; and the rude Goths and Lombards, though they subdued the enervated subjects of the empire, yielding to the refinements of the vanquished, and the mild influence of a southern sky, resigned, without reluctance, the maxims of their fathers, and the barbarous customs of their woods and deserts, whenever they were found to militate against the advantages and resources of a more improved civilization.

The most dreadful calamities were expected from the irruption of the Moguls into China in the 12th, and afterwards of the Mantchew
1645. Tartars in the 17th century; but, on the contrary, the Tartar princes gave the highest encouragement to the arts, cultivated them with success, and contributed, in no small degree, to civilize the manners of this boasted nation. Even in the darkest ages of Europe, a gleam of light broke in from the east. The Arabs snatched from the feeble hands of the eastern emperors the provinces of Syria and Egypt; but that acute and ingenious people, instead of yielding to the supineness, or sinking into the lethargy of the Greeks, cultivated the sciences, encouraged learning and learned men, rescued from the long night of oblivion, and the darkness of monkish retreats, the best and wisest works of the ancient philosophers, and gave a new circulation to the most exalted productions of human ingenuity.

Thus, to whatever part of the world we turn our attention; to whatever principle we ascribe the revolution of the globe; by whatever causes we account for the advancement and decay of societies; it will be evident that, in what regards human affairs, refinement has been, notwithstanding some apparent deviations, ever carried on in a progressive manner.

If, however, war * has in some cases been productive of these and similar benefits, commerce will be found to have been still more so; the one has indeed more generally gone hand in hand with the other; and the advantages which have resulted from the intercourse of mankind, have been secured by the power of the sword. A view of the events connected with the history of the east, will furnish the best elucidation to these reflections: and, first, it will be necessary to consider the state of the eastern commerce, as it was originally carried on by the nations on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea; and thence trace the revolutions which have tranferred it to the British dominion. The description of these revolutions will be the more interesting, from the clearer insight we shall thence receive of Indian history; and will serve to prove what, in the present political situation of Europe, is of the highest moment to our own national security; that the intercourse with the East has ever been the great source of the wealth, power, and importance of the nations who have been enabled to maintain it.

The East appears, from every notice of credible history, to have early acquired extensive notions of the useful and the elegant arts, which minister to the comfort and ornament of life. Soon after the general deluge, the East was covered with many powerful tribes; some luxuries were already known, and the arts were in a progressive state of improvement: these seem to have soon arrived at the point requisite for useful purposes, but never to have approached the summit of perfection, as it respects taste and sublimity.

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grations, the traces of one common origin, the tradition of the abode of their first parents, were not altogether obliterated. Some obscure memorials of an æra when a purer worship prevailed, when the gods reigned on earth, and conversed with mankind, were still preserved; and some principle seemed still to direct the most barbarous hordes in a grateful homage towards the East, as the country of the highest civilization, as the parent source of all nations, the centre of the richest productions of nature, and the choicest refinements of art.

Bruce's Travels, Vol. I. p. 368.

"Whoever reads the history of the most ancient nations, will find "the origin of wealth and power to have risen in the East, then to "have gradually advanced westward, spreading itself at the same "time north and south; he will find the riches and population of "these nations decay in proportion as this trade forsakes them." The East, from the remotest periods, has ever been the field where the industry of the western world has found ample scope for its exertions *, and the most grateful supply of its real or imaginary wants.

A passion for eastern, and more especially Indian manufactures and products, has, in every age, actuated the people in lower Asia and Africa, as well as the most civilized parts of Europe; the delicate and unrivalled fabricks of cotton of that country, particularly suiting the inhabitants of the temperate regions along the Mediterranean and Euxine Seas.

Vide Montesq. of the Commerce of the Ant. B. XXI.

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* Bernier has justly called India (Hindostan), "L'Abysme d'une grande partie "de l'or et de l'argent du monde, qui trouve plusieurs moyens d'entrer de tous côtés, "et presque pas une issue pour en sortir."—*De l'Etat de l'Hindostan.*

Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, B. XXI. ch. i.

"It is nature herself that produces this effect. The Indians have their arts adapted to their manner of living; our luxury cannot be theirs, nor their wants ours. "Their climate neither demands nor permits hardly any thing that comes from us. "Well might Pliny complain of its effects in his age, since bullion was almost the "principal barter for Indian goods."—Lib. vi. c. 23. The first traffic of Europeans was carried on upon the same principle: it has, however, been considerably changed since the British conquests.

If we except Egypt, which appears to have brought from Chaldæa, in remote ages, the arts and sciences of a more polished state, which for centuries had contained within her own limits the highest improvements of philosophy, and the best notions of polity and government, little was certainly known of the vast continent of Africa. The fertility of their country, their melancholy temper, their singular laws, naturally rendered the Egyptians averse to distant navigation *; and their wretched barks †, formed of reeds, and stitched together with the papyrus, were ill calculated for distant voyages, or tempestuous seas. Religious terrors sanctified their prejudices ‡. This dislike to foreign commerce is even said to have been carried so far, as to have induced them to fortify their harbours; and anciently, they were accused of sacrificing those strangers, whom ignorance or ill fortune had cast upon their shores, as victims to their angry deities.

The connection with India and Persia was probably still maintained, but only through the means of Arabian or Ethiopian merchants §.

The Arabians, who inhabit that country which is bounded by Sy-

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* Great part of the riches which the ancients imagined were the produce of Arabia, came really from the Indies and the coasts of Africa. The Egyptians perhaps shut their ports to engross the trade and to conceal the truth from other nations. Sales's Koran, Vol. I. p. 3.

† The Egyptians, under their native princes, never appeared in the Mediterranean as a naval power. As subject to the Persians, Macedonians, and Romans, Egypt furnished large fleets; Arabia supplied them with the commodities of the East. Vincent's Periplus, 233. 243. Part II.

‡ The Egyptians dreaded all pollution of the sacred waters; and to have died on a foreign shore would have deprived them of those rites of sepulture, which custom had rendered sacred and indispensable. The ancient Persians sailed not upon the river, lest they should defile the element. De Pauw, Hyde's Religion of the Persians.

§ When the Ethiopians, or children of Cush, the grandson of Noah, had quitted their caves, where they had lived as *Troglodytes*, the shepherd race were then the carriers of Indian commodities, and supplied those luxuries, which an improved state of society had demanded.—*Bruce on the Early Indian Commerce*, B. II. c. i. iv. v.

ria, Diarbec, and *Irac Arabi* *, on the north, by the Indian Ocean on the south, by the Gulph of Persia on the east, and on the west by the Red Sea, which separates it from Africa, are justly supposed to have been the principal carriers of these precious commodities, and the masters of that lucrative trade, which has from the remotest period been maintained, through Iran or Persia, with the northern provinces of India.

Vincent's Periplus Prel. Dis. p. 2. 58. & B. III. of Part II.

There is every reason to believe † that an intercourse subsisted in very early times, between Yernon and the western coasts of India; not indeed with the Brahmans, whose duties confined them to the administration of the offices of religion, but with the Banyans, or members of the third cast of Hindus, whose occupation was commerce. The Banyans are recorded by very early authors, and by the most authentic testimonies, as men distinguished for their wealth, probity, simplicity, and singularity of manners; and they traded with Arabia Felix, and the Ethiopian shores, which lay within the line of religious limitation.

Appen. No. 18. p. 23.

An extensive and lucrative commerce had long been carried on from Surat, and the south-west coast of India, for the gold, ivory, gums, and pearls, which were either furnished from Arabia, or Melinda on the African shore. Custom had rendered these gums essentially necessary in all the ceremonials of the Indian worship; and the exchange was made in the cotton of their country, or the spices of the Malay Islands. Were any proofs wantin of the high antiquity of the Indians, of their early civilization, and addiction to commercial

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* The Chaldæa of the ancients, and of which Bagdad, on the eastern banks of the Tigris, was the capital in the days of the Kaliphat.—*Vincent*, p. 367 of Part II.

Vincent's Periplus, p. 367 of Part II.

† Dr. Vincent denies that the Indians were addicted to navigation, from their being forbidden to pass the *Attock* (or forbidden river); but this seems chiefly to have applied to the higher casts, not to the Bice or Banyans, whose province was to provide the necessaries of life by traffic. Vide *Gentoo Code*, p. 49. He favours the idea of the Indians trading with Arabia. Appendix, No. 18, *Attock*.

Ibid. p. 258.

objects, they may be found in the Institutes of Menu, a book the age of which has been computed by Sir W. Jones, as coeval with a very early period of the world; wherein, besides other regulations of trade, "provision is made for the interest of money, and limited to par-"ticular cases, but *with* exceptions in favour of adventures and in-"surances by sea." It is also probable, that the Yogee or Indian penitent, whose religious creed and mortified habits frequently carried him into the most distant regions, in search of the springs of Naptha, had with the Banyan also visited the coast of the Red Sea; nor were these shores utterly forsaken by them, until the troubles of the Egyptian and Persian dynasties rendered their religion and liberty no longer secure. Ht. Prel. Dis. 1.

The grain and raw materials of colder climates, necessary to supply the increasing population of a country, whose internal resources were inadequate to its consumption, impelled the natives to seek assistance from foreign climates. The commercial intercourse, thus introduced by necessity, enriched the inhabitants, and added to the revenues of the state. From this origin sprung the Phœnician colonies, which covered the Morea and the islands of the Mediterranean, and spread over the distant shores of the Euxine and the Mæotis, and the coasts of Africa and Spain. The spirit of commercial enterprise which animated the Phœnicians, was not satisfied with the limited shores of the Mediterranean. Inhabiting a country in a great measure sandy and barren, it was necessary that their utmost industry should be exerted against the influences of the climate, and for the supply of the wants of life. India and its rich commerce had long been an interesting object; and the silver of the Spanish mines, and the tin of Britain, were exchanged for the costly manufactures of the East. To effect this purpose, the Phœnicians appear early to have settled on the north-east parts of the Red Sea: hence the trade to India, Ethiopia, and Arabia, was direct; and the cargoes of their vessels being discharged at *Elath*, or Vincent's Perip. p. 22. Append. 542. Hodie *Alla*.

Eziongeber *, were conveyed over land in caravans, by a short route of a few days, to Rhinocolura, a town on the Mediterranean Sea, the common frontiers of Palestine and Egypt, where they were reshipped for Tyre, and other ports of Asia and Europe.

The active and enlightened Greeks, who had received from the Phœnicians their first notices of the East, their knowledge of navigation, their laws, language, and polity, could not overlook advantages so important. Early settlements had been formed by the Athenians, and other independent republics, upon the Euxine and the Palus Mæotis. Colchis †, forming a part of the modern Mingrelia, whether we ascribe its origin to the fabled Sesostris, and his colony of Egyptians, or to the industrious Phœnicians of Tyre and Sidon, was soon occupied, and became the mart of a most extensive commerce. It was hence by a route long known to the Persians ‡, that the Athenians received the rich produce of northern India, which was conveyed down the Oxus to the ports of the Caspian Sea, and thence transferred along the courses of the Apus and Phasis to

Kur. Ichow, *Indic.*

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* David, Solomon, and the Jews, followed in the same track in their voyages to Ophir and Tarshish. They had settlements on the Red Sea, at the head of the Elanitick Gulph, which had either been conquered from the Idumeans (Edom), or obtained by the friendship of Hiram, King of Tyre. These places have been referred to various countries. Ophir was probably *Sofola*, on the south-west coast of Africa. Authors are not so well agreed upon the situation of Tarshish; some calling it Tartessus and Carthage in Spain, evidently ancient Phœnician colonies; others *the Sea*, generally.

Vincent's Perip. Appendix, 51. 257. Montesq. Book XXI. c. vi.

† Sesostris was said to have founded this colony, on his return from his Indian and Scythian expedition. It has been attributed to him, because the Colchians were circumcised; but the Colchi, the Egyptians, and Ethiopians, all used this rite; and they probably borrowed it from the Phœnicians and Syrians.

‡ The early Persians seem to have entertained with the Egyptians an equal dislike to naval expeditions. Herodotus states, that at the time of Cyrus's progress through Asia Minor, the Persians had not any fleet; and at a later period, when Cambyses undertook an expedition into Egypt, his fleet was composed of Cypriots and Mytylenians.

Lib. I. sect. 143. Vincent's Perip. p. 13.

the great emporium at Colchis. The wealth of Tyre and Sidon * had solely arisen from their exclusive trade with the East; but as soon as the communication between Syria and the Indian empire was interrupted, Athens and Corinth rose upon the ruin of their rivals; the Mediterranean, the Euxine, and the Ionian Seas, were covered with Grecian fleets, or their coasts were planted with Grecian colonies; commerce flourished under the auspices of liberty, and supported the naval states under the severest pressure of the Peloponnesian wars. An intercourse thus begun, was afterwards successfully maintained with those distant regions of Asia, which had by turns contributed to the power, the wealth, and the luxury, of the Assyrian, Median, and Persian empires.

CHAP. II.

VIEWS OF ALEXANDER AND HIS SUCCESSORS—ROMANS—PALMYRA —CONSTANTINOPLE.

As we advance nearer to the period of the Macedonian conquests, we become more intimately acquainted with the situation and relative importance of the eastern commerce.

When the Persian empire had fallen before the fortunes of Alexander, the value of the Indian trade did not escape his attention. Many of his conquests in that rich country seem to have been effected B. C. 327.

* Modern Tyre, or Tour, is only at present a small village; Saide, or Sidon, is an inconsiderable trading town; neither of these cities seem to retain any traces of their former splendor. Old Tyre was destroyed by the Babylonians, 573 B. C. New Tyre, 332 B. C. by Alexander. Maundrel, p. 49. Volney's Syria.

with a view of establishing an intercourse with the natives of India upon a more extended scale. All his views in the building of Alexandria, and his march into the Panjab *, his own voyage down the Hydaspes and the Indus—that of Nearchus from the mouth of the Indus to the Persian Gulph, which (if we except the successful voyage of Scylax of Caryandra, under the orders of Darius Hystaspis,) was the first European fleet that had ever navigated the Indian Seas, were directed to the same point; hence also he removed the dams, which, either from religious prejudices, or as a barrier against foreign invasion, the Persian monarchs had placed at the mouth of the Euphrates; thus opening a channel of communication with the very centre of his vast territories.

Hod. *Oxian.*

B. C. 508.

Herodot. Lib. IV. sect. 44.; Vincent's Perip. p. 14.

The divisions which took place amongst his generals, after the death of their leader, checked, for a time, the views of the princes to whose portion Syria had been allotted. Continual wars agitated the empire; and a race of Greek princes, wresting from the successors of Seleucus Nicator part of Upper Asia, the countries bordering on the Caspian Sea, between Parthia and the Indus, and lying to the south of the Oxus, formed the independent kingdom of *Bactria* †.

See Appendix, No. 19.

But though Alexander did not live to execute what he had so judiciously planned, the wisdom of his schemes was confirmed by the subsequent arrangements of the Ptolemies, who made Alexandria the great mart of Indian commerce, and Egypt the receptacle of eastern wealth.

Philadelphus had sent his ambassadors into India, to inquire into

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* The Panjab is the country watered by the five eastern branches of the Indus.

Montesq. Book XXI. c. 22.

† The Macedonians of Bactria, India, and Arianna, separated themselves from the Syrian empire, and formed an independent state. Ariana extended from the Persian Gulph as far as the Indus and the sea to the mountains of Paropamisus.

The more modern empire of Ghizni comprehended Ghizni, Balk, Cabul, Candahar, and nearly the same countries as the ancient Bactria.

the nature of its productions, and establish, if possible, some plan of commercial intercourse; but the Rajahs, though they gave every encouragement to trade, were unwilling to suffer him to make any settlements in their provinces; the conquests of Alexander, and the force of the Bactrian kingdom on their northern frontiers, having rendered them naturally jealous of Grecian power. The Ptolemies had besides other difficulties to surmount, which required the full exertion of their wisdom and activity. The Egyptians were naturally averse to commerce *, and had hitherto carried on but little traffic by the Red Sea. Their country was almost wholly destitute of timber adapted to naval purposes. The vessels which they were compelled to use, were principally composed of reeds and papyrus, fitted with small sails, and so ill constructed, as to be incapable of any rapid progress; and even these wretched barks, when the attention of their kings was turned towards the navigation of the eastern seas, were chiefly conducted by Grecian pilots. Not, however, deterred by these obstacles, Philadelphus endeavoured to establish a harbour in the Arabian Gulph, on the Isthmus of Suez or Arsinoe; but the attempt was frustrated by reason of the coral rocks, the shoals, and the unprotected nature of the coast. Another station was therefore chosen, much farther to the south, at Berenice, or at Myos Hormos; whence, by means of camels, and the course of the great canal †

* Dr. Vincent is induced to believe, that until the reign of Ptolemy Philometor, 146 years after the death of Alexander, the Greek sovereigns of Egypt had not traded directly to India, but imported the eastern commodities from Safa, the capital of Yemen. Periplus, p. 35.

† A canal to join the Nile with the Red Sea was first undertaken by Pharaoh Nekos, B. C. 604, and afterwards by Darius the Mede, and the Ptolemies. The Arabs, in the zenith of their power, ineffectually renewed the attempt. It was renewed by Amru 641, after his conquest of Egypt; and a canal, at least eighty miles in length, was dug from the Nile to the Red Sea; but this inland navigation was soon discontinued. The Mamlouks and Turks have been indifferent to com- Herod. Lib. II. c. clviii. See Knolles's Hist. Turks, p. 670. Gibbon, R. E. Vol. V. c. 51.

which he had cut to Coptos, a town built upon the Nile, and twelve days journey from Berenice, the merchandize of the Indies, Persia, Arabia, and Ethiopia, was transported to Alexandria.

B. C. 30. It is well known of what importance the conquest of Egypt appeared to the Romans; nor was it merely from its fertility, as being the granary of the capital, (for Sicily had always afforded great supplies of corn,) but as it was the seat of that lucrative commerce *, the chief source of wealth to the nations and princes, under whose protection it had been carried on. The effects of the immense accession of wealth brought from these sources into the Roman treasury were soon perceived: they not only altered the value of property, doubled the price of provisions and merchandize, but introduced a total change in the state of manners of Rome itself.

Vincent's Perip. N. 41. 50 to 57. Pliny, Robertson; Vincent's Perip. 65. 337 of Part II.; Montesq. Esp. des Loix, Book XXI. c. xiii.

The Indian trade was monopolized by Rome; her fleets annually visited India, and no foreigner was allowed to navigate the Arabian Gulph: but the voyages of the Roman merchants were principally confined to the western coasts of the Indian peninsula. Of the in-

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mercial objects; and their only vessels at present on the Red Sea are a few trading from Djedda to Suez.

Volney Syria, Vol. I. c. xiv. Irwin's Adven. Vol. I. Let. II. Norden, Vol. II. Vincent's Perip. p. 77. 80. Map of Ant. Caravans.

Substantial reasons have been given, why this canal can never be effectually useful. Whatever may have been formerly attempted, no traces of it are now visible. Bruce says, that the canal of Ptolemy entered the Pelasian, or eastern branch of the Nile, Vol. I. p. 460.

Coptos lies between Ghinné and Kous: the canal connected it with the Nile. Ghinné is the modern point of communication with Coseir, the port on the Red Sea, where the little commerce that remains is carried on between Upper Egypt and Arabia.

Vincent's Perip.

* Soon after Egypt became a Roman province, Augustus planned the extension of his empire into Arabia and Ethiopia. Ælius Gallus penetrated into the heart of Arabia; and Petronius advanced into Ethiopia 870 miles above Syéné, and reduced Candace, the queen of Meröe or Atbara, to become a tributary to the Roman State. Augustus supposed that the gold and spices which were brought thence into Egypt were the products of those countries.

Ibid. 53—80. 1st Part.

terior of the country little was accurately known. Ambassadors* were indeed sent from an Indian king to court the alliance of Augustus, but, though the fame of the Roman conquests was diffused through the extremities of Asia, the Indi, like the Scythæ, were still described by a Roman author as *auditu modo cogniti*. Suet. August. sect. 21.

It was either the desire of extending the Roman conquests in the East, or of improving the commerce with India, that induced Trajan to sail down the Tigris, from the mountains of Armenia, to the Persian Gulph. Here, whilst he was contriving new conquests, death clouded his hopes. Trajan was the first and the last of the Roman generals who ever navigated that remote sea. Gibbon R. E. Vol. I. c. i.

As the luxuries of the capital increased, the rich and elegant productions of India became an object of the first demand. The intercourse by the Nile was soon found insufficient for the public supply, and a communication by caravans appears to have been opened from the Persian Gulph and the Euphrates, across the desert to Palmyra, or Tadmor, and thence to the coasts of Syria and Palestine. Some commerce with India by this route had long existed; but it was at this time so considerably increased, and had so much augmented the resources of the countries through which it passed, that the princes of Palmyra were not only enabled to extend their conquests into Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, and a part of Asia Minor, but even to contend for the succession to the imperial Purple, with the warlike Aurelian. A.D. 272.

After the fall of Palmyra and the death of its Queen Zenobia, the incursions and conquests of the Parthians threw new obstacles into the way of the Indian traffic; but when Persia had again returned to the

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* This embassy is mentioned by Strabo; he speaks of the Gifts and the Greek Letter, wherein Porus, who calls himself the Ruler over 600 tributary kings, professes his devotion to Augustus, and his willingness to serve and attend him. An embassy was also sent from India, in the reign of Claudius, by the King of Ceylon, accompanying the Freedman of Plocamus. Liber XV. Vincent Perip. p. 55, Part I.

dominion of her native princes, it was revived with new splendour, and the Persian, as well as the Roman fleets, covered the Indian ocean. The traffic was however still confined within the Malabar coast; nor have we any authentic records to convince us that the ancients ever sailed beyond the Island of Taprobana, or Ceylon. *Strabo*, who lived in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, tells us, in his Geography, that few merchants ventured from Egypt or the Red Sea, as far as the Ganges; and they who did reach it were for the most part ignorant of letters, and incapable of furnishing any assistance to historians.

Liber XV.

It is probable that some travellers, attracted by other motives than the thirst of gain, had visited parts of the more eastern coast; but the jealousies of the native princes had been long awakened, and the means of ascertaining doubtful points of geography were so extremely defective, that we are still left to conjecture, and compelled to remain satisfied with such scanty notices, as the history of the times will afford.

The various productions of farther India and of Sericum, or Igour, were not unknown; but they appear to have been conveyed to the Malabar ports, most frequented by the Roman and Persian merchants, in the vessels of the country. The Seres*, Serica, and

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* Ptolemy speaks, in Liber viii. c. 3. de Sinarum situ. He honestly confesses, that the country beyond the Aurea Chersonesus, or the line of coast from Bengal to the Streights of Malacca or Takola, was little known. In c. 4. The Island of Taprobana seems to be interpreted as that of Zeilan or Sumatra.

Whether the Seres were Chinese, or an intermediate tribe between India and China, is not material. That there was an intercourse with the Seres on the north of the Himmalu Mountains, and that an exchange of commodities took place at some frontier, like that between the Russians and Chinese at Kiatcha, as the former nation and the Turcomans at Ur Gunge, their mart on the Iaick, is evident from Ptolemy, Pliny, and the Periplus. It is probable that the Parthians, by means of caravans, traded on the north with China, as they did with India by the Persian Gulph. The Birmans and Chinese, like the Russians, have a mart between Gouptong and

Vincent's Periplus, Appendix, p. 29, n. 41]—617, of Part 2.

Symes's Ava, p. 70.

Sinæ, have, by some writers, been supposed to be the inhabitants, or region, of Modern China; but even in the days of Ptolemy the Geographer, he knew not that such a country existed. The Jesuits, whose long residence in China seemed at one time to have given a sanction to all the tales they fabricated, have asserted, from Chinese records, that an embassy was sent to China by M. Aurelius, A.C. 162, to open a direct commerce with the country, and to deliver his subjects from the tribute exacted by the Parthians. This assertion is, however, denied by M. De Pauw and other authors, who contend that, long before the reign of Aurelius, the Roman * vessels went as far as Palibothra† on the Ganges, where they might have traded, without depending in any manner upon the Parthians; or, if they did not choose to double Cape Comorin, they might anchor at *Barug* or Barygaza, in the Gulph of Canbay‡, where the natives brought the merchandize from Serica overland, by the way of Bactria.

De Pauw, Egypt and Chin. Vol. I. p. 300. Barrow's Chin. p. 436.

Hod. Baroach on the Nerbuddah.

Quantong, where the merchants meet, and barter the commodities of their respective countries. Serica is said, by Barrow, to adjoin Scythia extra Imaum, corresponding with Cashgar, Tangut, and Katai, countries famous for the cultivation of the cotton plant. China, p. 436.

Major Rennel, Mem. Map Hind. says, that Serica and Sinæ was the country to the west and north-west of China, the country of the Eluths, and part of Tartary, p. 27.

Sir W. Jones says, that silk was fabricated immemorially by the Indians, though commonly ascribed to the people of Jancut, or Serica. III. Anniversary Discourse.

* See the Roman Navigation described, Maurice's Mod. Hist. Hindostan, Vol. I. p. 47.

† Palibothra was the capital of the kingdom of the Prasii, whose empire seems to have included most of that tract through which the Ganges flows, after it enters the plains of Hindostan. It is called *Patna* by Rennel; D'Anville and Robertson refer it to Allahabad. Pliny, Strabo. Maurice's Mod. Hist. Hindost. Vol. I. p. 275.

Mr. Welford says, the Raj. Mahal occupies its site.

‡ In Ptolemy's map, Barygaza would represent the modern stations of Goa or Calicut. The Gulph of Cambay is farther to the westward of the peninsula. Renaudot places Barygaza at the entrance of this Gulph, and terms it the residence of the Balhárá, or Emperor. Vincent's Perip. p. 336. Note on Balhara, p. 24.

Rennel's Mem. of Hindostan, p. 70.

According to Pliny's idea, the country of the Seres must be a portion of Upper Asia, bordering upon the north-west of the Chinese wall. But whatever may have been the situation of this country, so

A. D. 551.

great was the ignorance of the Romans, as late as the days of Justinian, concerning the countries whence the rich manufactures of silk were procured, that, when that branch of commerce was intercepted by the Persians, the mode by which the silk was fabricated, and the means of its original production, were equally unknown in Europe. In the reign of Justinian, however, some Persian missionaries had penetrated into the country of the Seres, which, according to Procopius and others, is Serinda, or Sirhind*, and brought at last the silk worm

Gibbon, Echard R. H.

to Constantinople. From the imperial city these industrious animals† were distributed in the Peloponnesus, the islands of the Ægean

Vincent's Periplus, 402, 500, and Dissertation 1 of the Sinæ, and Siræ, p. 481.

and Ionian seas, and along the coasts of Asia Minor, where they were successfully propagated, and gave rise to new and extensive manufactories, carried on with silk of domestic production.

Rennel's Mem. p. 70.

* Sirhind forms at present part of the dominions of the Seiks, and is bounded on the N. and W. by Delhi, by the Settledge and Jumna rivers, and the Gomaun mountains.

A. D. 560. 569, 582, according to Gibbon. See Gibbon, Vol. IV. p. 231, ch. xlii.

† The Turks, nine years afterwards, made an alliance with the Romans by means of their trade in silk, which a good deal lowered its price in the empire, though it was still so considerable that Justinian was obliged to fix limits to it. Till this period no silk had been manufactured for Europe, but at Tyre and Berytus—cities in Phœnicia, and it is extremely probable that the trifling quantity of silks received by the Romans never came from China or the country of the Seres, but from Persia, or Northern India.

During the troubles which followed the subversion of the western empire, the art of weaving silk was lost; it was brought back to Constantinople in the 16th century, by some monks, who had returned from Serinda, or Sirhind.

See also, on the silk trade and manufactory, Gibbon, R. E. c. liii.

CHAP. III.

MAHOMED—ITALIAN STATES.

THE successes of Mahomed and his followers, which shook to its centre the throne of Constantinople, form a new era in the history of eastern commerce. A.D. 632 to 640.

The Arabians, long satisfied with their pastoral habits, or the moderate wealth which had accrued to them, either as principals or protectors of the caravans which passed through their country to the East, were now urged from their obscurity by the example and exhortations of the prophet and his immediate successors. Inspired with the zeal of missionaries, and the ambition of conquerors, they boldly aimed at universal dominion. Persia, Syria, Egypt, and the northern provinces of India, soon submitted to their arms; "and as the "active powers of the human mind, when once roused to vigorous "exertions in one line, are most capable of operating with force in "other directions," the Arabians soon "entered into the views of "commerce, and even improved upon the manners and resources of "the people whom they had subdued."

At Bagdad, the site of the ancient Seleucia, science was steadily cultivated, under the patronage of a dynasty of caliphs, the most powerful and renowned of the Mahomedan race; and this splendid city soon became equally famous for its treasures and magnificence, for its encouragement of learning, and its taste for the fine arts. Bussorah, founded by the Caliph Omar, in the fifteenth year of the Hegeira*, A.D. 762. Gibbon's Rom. Empire.

* The Hegeira begins from the flight of Mahomet from Mecca to Medina A. D. 622. When the Saracens penetrated into Bactria and Bokhara, the towns of Samarcand See Appendix, No. 15, P. 22.

Hod. Shat al Arab. 80 miles from the Persian Gulph.

near the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates, commanded the intercourse of the adjoining countries with the coasts of India, and received the wealth of the caravans of Persia and Arabia. The Mahomedan mariners soon ventured beyond the narrow boundaries of the old navigation—the Streights of Malacca and the River of Canton were passed by their fleets, or visited by their merchants; and their numbers soon became so considerable as to excite the notice, and obtain the protection of the Chinese Emperor.

Renaudot, Anc. Rel. Mohametan Travel.

The two Mohandan travellers describing the flourishing nature of the Arabian commerce at this early period, say, that the articles of importation were "the rich silks, the camphire, and the porcelain, "transparent as glass, from China, and the gold gems and perfumes "of India and its islands, which contributed to adorn the palaces of "Bagdad and Damascus."—Renaudot.

Though the Caliphs were thus anxious to extend their commerce with the East, they do not appear to have been desirous of supplying the wants and consumption of the western nations. National antipathies, heightened by all the prejudices of religious zeal, prevented commercial intercourse, and diverted the usual channel of European communication. When the Saracens had conquered Egypt*, the advantages inseparable from its situation could not escape their notice; and Cairo became the residence of a sultan, who was for a long time dependant on the caliph of Bagdad and Damascus. The first care of the conquerors was to exclude the Greeks for

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and Carisme were rich and populous under the power of the Turkoman Hordès, the Sogdian merchants maintaining the intercourse between India and Europe A. D. 651.

Vincent's Periplus, p. 57—64.

* Cairo was founded after the separation of Egypt from the Caliphat of Bagdad, on purpose to facilitate the communication between the East, the Nile, and Alexandria. Cairo soon became what Thebes and Memphis had been in ancient times—the centre of Eastern and European intercourse.

ever, and to cause all their vessels which approached the Mouth of the Nile to be seized on as enemies: the entrance into Egypt being thus obstructed, the Grecian commerce with the Indies* by that quarter was necessarily relinquished. But Constantinople, unwilling or unable to forego the benefit of luxuries to which long use had familiarized and attached her, re-opened the communication, by which the Colchians*, Phœnicians, and Greeks, had anciently traded with the East. This route was indeed subject to the depredations of those hordes, which, under the general name of Nomades, traversed the ancient Scythia or Tartary,—to the storms of the *Caspian* and Euxine seas, and the ravages of that fierce race which inhabited the mountains and fastnesses of Georgia, Circassia, and Armenia; but these difficulties were in the end surmounted, and the commerce thus maintained, served for a long time to prop the declining power of the empire. Appendix, No. 17.

Subsequently to this period, the history of the commerce is so little noticed either by the eastern or western historians, that little information can be gained upon the subject; the Byzantine Court was engaged in factions, or immersed in luxuries; and the people were agitated by religious dissensions. From the time of Cosmas Indicopleustes to the travels of Benjamin the Jew of Tudela, and those of Marco Polo the Venetian, and Sir John Mandeville in 1332, few Europeans appear to have been induced to visit the East, either from motives of religion, trade, or science; besides that, the rooted animosity of the Saracen and Turk against the Christian powers and name, compelled them to relinquish the old route of Egypt, and rendered it hazardous for them to attempt the passage either of the Great or Little Desert. 550. 1160. 1269.

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* Georgia, Circassia, Mingrelia. Antiq. Iberia. Colchis was anciently full of rich and flourishing cities. Under the Turks, it has been desolated. Montesquieu, B. XXI. c. vi. Chardin and other Travellers, on its present state.

See, on this route to the East, *Anderson on Commerce*, p. 5, Vol. II.

Appendix, No. 16, p. 22.

In Italy, at the termination of the wars between the Guelphs and Ghibellines*, the inhabitants of Venice and Amalphi first turned their attention to the improvement of their navy. Motives of self-defence stimulated their exertions, as the Mahomedans had become masters of Sicily, and every where ravaged the coasts of Italy with their piratical incursions. These efforts were not unsuccessful; the Indian commerce fell into their hands; Genoa and some other towns on the Mediterranean, followed their example, and engrossed the carrying trade between Europe and the East.

The spirit of crusading which pervaded most of the kingdoms of Europe did not relax the exertions of the commercial states. It was by means of the Italian fleets that the warriors of Europe were transported either to Dalmatia or the Byzantine and Syrian shores, or subsisted in their long and dangerous route from Constantinople to Jerusalem; hence these states acquired, from the ignorant Franks, peculiar privileges and an exclusive trade, and ultimately induced the Mahomedan to enter into some social compact with his Christian rival. The Florentines, by the conquest of Pisa, under the
1405. able administration of Cosmo de Medicis, rivalled Genoa, and entered into a league with the Soldan of Egypt. Genoa had for some time been rising to commercial reputation, in consequence of the assistance she had afforded the Greeks in shaking off the Latin yoke†. The enervated Greeks, who had suffered their own navy to fall to ruin, granted to these strangers the highest distinctions and immunities: the defence of their harbours and seas was entrusted to their care; they were allowed to settle in Pera and the suburbs of Constantinople, and to take possession of the Tauric Chersonese‡,

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* The factions of the Popes and the Emperors. Vide Appendix, No. 16.

† Michael Paleologus took Constantinople from the Latins in 1261. The Latin empire had subsisted 58 years from the first Latin emperor, Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, in 1204.

‡ Hodie Crimæa. Caffa has again received its ancient name of Theodosia. It was

where Caffa was made the centre and mart of that lucrative commerce, which had formerly been maintained by Colchis. The Mahomedan merchants were also taught to conceal their antipathies; and the advantages of a mutual commerce prevailing over the bigoted prejudices of the age, the harbours of Alexandria and Alexandretta, the port to Beræa or Aleppo, were once more opened for the reception of European vessels, and for the exchange of eastern productions. Hod. Scanderoon.

The ruin of the Greek empire in 1453 did not produce the miserable consequences which had been apprehended, and the triumph of the Crescent over the Cross proved eventually a benefit to Europe. "In Constantinople," says Robertson, "the knowledge of "ancient arts and discoveries was still preserved; a taste for splen- "dour and elegance still subsisted; the productions and luxuries of "foreign countries were in request, and commerce continued to "flourish there, when it was almost extinct in every other part of "Europe." The Mohamedan conquest transferred to other countries the means of improvement, and the sources of that abundant wealth which had for a time suspended, and, if properly encouraged, might have still delayed the fall of the capitol. With the loss of their most valuable property, and the extinction of their dearest connections, many of the best and wisest of the surviving citizens, dreading the tyranny of their conquerors, sought refuge in climates more congenial to liberty, and found distinguished patrons in some of the princes of the Italian states. The merchant vessels that frequented the Grecian and Asiatic harbours favoured their escape, and America, Vol. I. p. 38.

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captured by the Turks in 1475, who afterwards conquered the whole peninsula. The Tartars, under their Khan, held it in fealty till 1774, when, with the aid of Russia, they threw off the Turkish yoke. In 1783 the whole peninsula fell under the dominion of Russia, and recovered its ancient name of the Chersonesus Taurica, though it is still more frequently known by the name of the Crimæa, in Europe.

the useful and liberal arts were transferred from the Morea and the Bosphorus, to the more hospitable shores of western Europe.

The recent invention of the art of printing enabled the Medici and the other patrons of learning to multiply copies of the most valuable works which had escaped the general pillage, with a facility unknown to former ages; and the spirit of liberty and independence expanding with the progress of knowledge, "the Europeans began "to be sensible of wants with which they were formerly unac- "quainted; new desires were excited, and such a taste for the "commodities and arts of other countries gradually spread among "them, that they not only encouraged the resort of foreigners to "their harbours, but began to perceive the advantages and neces- "sity of applying to commerce themselves."

Robertson's America, Vol. I. p. 44.

A.D. 1453. Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, had already risen, from inconsiderable towns, to be rich and populous cities. So early as the year 1296, John Duke of Brabant had established a company of merchants and traders, as a society of adventurers, to promote commerce and research. This useful order of men were admitted into England, and encouraged by the favour and charters of Edward III. but they made little progress until the reign of Henry VIII. who bestowed on them the title of Merchant Adventurers. Under their auspices, some important discoveries were made in navigation, and commerce was greatly advanced; by their industry and commercial regulations, the confederacy of independent German cities, called the Hanseatic League, had acquired immense wealth and considerable political importance; and the sovereigns of Europe began to perceive that something more was required from the ruler of a state than brilliant military exploits, or a precarious controul over a rude and factious nobility.

Anderson on Commerce, Vol. I. p. 252.

CHAP. IV.

PROGRESS OF COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION IN EUROPE.

NOTWITHSTANDING these favourable appearances, Europe, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, had not advanced far beyond the state which it had attained before the fall of the Roman empire. It was not indeed to be expected, that after the long and bloody wars carried on by the several states of Europe, with all the inveterate spirit of national rivalry, or religious bigotry; or whilst they were separately occupied in consolidating their power, and laying the foundation of a more permanent tranquillity, this martial spirit, which had hurled the West upon the East, or been directed to the expulsion of the Moors, could in the instant be extinguished. "Chivalry," it is observed, "was well calculated to exalt the character of a rude age, and to repair or lessen the inconveniences of the feudal government whence it took its rise. At that time it revived on the banks of the Tagus in all its ancient splendour;" and assuming a new name and a milder tone, favoured the progress of science, and tended, in some measure, to correct the errors and prejudices of their ancestors, and diffused more exalted notions of civility and government. "It occasioned," says Robertson, "a fermentation of mind that put ingenuity and invention in motion, and gave them vigour: it led men to a new employment of their faculties, which they found to be agreeable as well as interesting: it accustomed them to some relish for foreign objects, encouraged the ardour of hope, and gave a spring to curiosity which nothing could resist."

The spirit of enterprise thus awakened, advanced with the most rapid strides; and seconded by the principles of liberty and protestantism, just dawning from the mouldering ruins of feudal institutions, inspired the hopes of the active and industrious citizen with the prospect and expectation of the same ample rewards, which had crowned the exertions of the more commercial states. A new class of men arose in Europe; and commerce, which, in the time of Gothic darkness*, had been engrossed by the Jews and the Lombards, or cramped by severe regulations, became an object of universal competition.

Hitherto the accounts received of the East had been chiefly derived from the obscure relations of the ignorant and bigoted pilgrims, who visited the holy sepulchre; or from merchants, who, like the Phœnicians of old, made every thing relative to their cause of navigation not only a mystery of trade, but a secret of state, and were therefore interested in concealing a knowledge of countries, the monopoly of whose rich productions were the exclusive source of their own wealth.

Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, B. XXI. ch. vi.

In their expeditions to Palestine, the crusaders had an opportunity of observing the arts, manners, and accommodations of a people more polished than themselves; and those who had the good fortune to return to Europe, could point out to their countrymen modes of life essentially different from their own rude habits, and sources of enjoyment more congenial with reason and refinement.

As the light of science became diffused, the works of the great authors of Greece and Rome were translated into the modern language of Europe, and read with the most earnest attention; the mi-

* Vide Montesquieu on the Commerce of the Middle Ages, B. XXI. ch. vii. viii. 16, 17. Compare the ancient authors on India with Vincent's Periplus, p. 154. 166. ch. xxiii. 405. 180. Rennel Mem. Hindost. Robertson's Notes to America, Vol. I. p. 554, octavo. India, p. 90. Bruce, Vol. I. p. 466. Renaudot. Ant. Rel. Note X. p. 30. 59.

mory of former discoveries was revived; and the progress of navigation and commerce was studiously traced through those distant regions, which had formed the kingdoms of the ancient world.

The chief object, however, which excited the speculations of the age, and invigorated all its hopes and labours, was the prospect and the means of forming new connexions with the East, by a track unknown in former ages. From a comparison of the accounts of ancient and modern travellers, a hope had arisen of obtaining this object, by pursuing a different course from that which had been so successfully followed by the southern nations; and which, though faintly mentioned by two of the heathen writers, was still rather matter of doubtful tradition, and vague conjecture, than of certain discovery. Herodot. Plin.

It is no wonder, if to nations just emerging from the darkness of the middle ages, the execution of such a project should appear so full of difficulty and danger, as to check the ardour of the first adventurers. Men would naturally reason from the information they had received of the Roman power, that had such a discovery been practicable, as a passage to India round the continent of Africa, it would not have escaped the vigilance, or wanted the support of the government; but they did not reflect sufficiently on the character of that martial people, who always appear to have regarded commercial affairs with the greatest indifference.

Egypt was, indeed, under their government, a flourishing mart, and the centre of a trade which brought an immense revenue to the Roman capital; but almost all the knowledge which the Romans had of the remote parts of India, was drawn from the relations of a few travellers, or ambassadors. The interior of this *interesting* country had never been thoroughly explored; and even the principal knowledge of its coasts was obtained from the doubtful testimonies of the traders, who collected at Patálá (Tatta), near the head of the Delta of the Indus, or at Musiris, Berace, or *Cot-*

*tonora**, places on the western shore of the peninsula, whose situation cannot now be exactly ascertained. The products of the East were brought to these ports from unknown and remote regions, by the natives themselves, in canoes hollowed out of a single tree, or in other vessels of a construction peculiar to the country.

Lib. IV. sect. 42, 43.

B. C. 604.

It was asserted by *Herodotus*, that except in that part wherein it is bounded by Asia, Africa was every where (περίρρυτος) *washed by the sea*; and, in confirmation of this opinion, he relates the voyage undertaken by the orders of Pharoah Neko (who had begun the canal from the Nile to the Red Sea), under the conduct of some Phœnician mariners; who, sailing from the Erythræan Sea, encompassed the continent of Africa, and returned to Alexandria, by the Pillars of Hercules, after an absence of three years. Sataspes, in the reign of Herxes, pursued the same course, but with different success. After coasting the continent of Africa, and penetrating far into the Western Ocean, he appears to have returned to the Nile without accomplishing his object, deterred, perhaps, either by the length of the voyage, or the difficulties of the navigation in unknown and tempestuous seas. The evidence of Pliny coincided with the relations of Herodotus. In his account of the voyages of Hanno the Carthaginian, and of Eudoxus, in the reign of Ptolemy Lathyrus, the continent of Africa is said to have been circumnavigated, *a Gadibus ad finem Arabiæ*; from the Straights of Gibraltar to the extremities of Arabia.

Nat. Hist. Lib. II. c. lxvii. Robertson, Vol. I. p. 354, 8vo. Notes to America. Bruce's Travels, Vol. I. p. 466. Montesq. Spirit of Laws, B. XXI. c. vi. viii. Anderson on Commerce, Vol. II. p. 255.

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* *Cottonora*, according to Dr. Vincent, is in the kingdom of *Canara*. Musiris—Mangalore. Vincent, p. 405. Musiris is called, by Major Rennel, Merjee and Baracé. Barcelore on the Malabar Coast. In a note to Pliny's Natural History, Lib. VI. c. xxvi. Musiris is called Calicut, and Cottonora the modern Cochin, on the same coast. The boats are called in Pliny, (ibid.) "*monoxula liptea*." Upon their reaching the same coast, at the distance of almost 15 centuries, this was the first object that attracted the admiration of the Portuguese.—See also Dr. Vincent's Periplus, p. 66, c. xxiii. on the connection of the Eastern with the Atlantic Ocean.

But, whatever may have been the nature of these discoveries, it does not appear that they ever produced any material effects upon the old track, by which the Indian commerce was principally maintained*. If, therefore, we reject all the accounts which are fabulous and obscure, and adhere to the light and information of authentic history, without substituting in its place the conjectures of fancy, or the dreams of etymologists, we must conclude, that the ancients possessed a very limited knowledge of the habitable globe. For not to mention their ignorance of many of those countries which now form the principal kingdoms of Europe, even the opinions of their philosophers and geographers, when carried beyond personal knowledge, or unsupported by respectable testimony, are involved in a maze of error and confusion. Nor, in the infancy of the nautical art, and with vessels merely adapted for a coasting voyage, was it probable, that they would easily be induced to navigate distant and stormy seas, in pursuit of objects which, in the end, might be chimerical. "In that "age the geographer did not navigate, and the navigator had no "science. The geographer reckoned by degrees, without observa- "tion; the navigator reckoned by his day's course."

Strabo, Lib. XV.

Vincent's Perip. p. 181.

The relations of Herodotus appear indeed to have been considered by the Greeks themselves as not entitled to credit. Polybius asserted 300 years before Ptolemy, that "he could not say positively "whether Africa were a continent running round by the South, or "whether it were encompassed by the sea." Ptolemy, the most learned and inquisitive of all the ancient geographers, and who lived in the reigns of Adrian and Antoninus, supposes the great continent of Africa, not to have been surrounded by the ocean; and he so far mistakes its true figure, as to describe it becoming broader and broader, as it stretched without interruption towards the poles. Other

* Strabo died about the 12th year of Tiberius. Vincent's Perip. p. 180.

On the ignorance of the ancients of the East, see Anderson on Commerce, Vol. I. 75.

mistakes which have been discovered in Ptolemy's astronomical calculations of the latitude and longitude of places, may serve to confirm the belief, that the intercourse of Europe with these distant regions was then extremely rare. Yet even with these defects, the labours of Ptolemy are not to be despised. Major Rennel, though he speaks of his map of India as being "exceedingly faulty in the general form of the whole tract," acknowledges that several parts of it are accurately descriptive, and possess considerable merit; inasmuch as his ideas upon the subject were chiefly collected from the people who sailed along the coast, and were ignorant of what lay beyond it.

Mem. Map. Hind.

Ptol. Geog. L. VII. c. i. 2.

Strabo, Lib. XV.

That description of parts, as well as many particulars enumerated in the Itinerary of Pliny, and by Arrian, who flourished twenty years after Ptolemy, and who appears to have had a just idea of the proportional dimensions of India, especially its northern quarter, have been amply verified by succeeding discoveries. For both Arrian's and Strabo's account was derived from Thegasthenes; who by a long residence, 300 years before our æra, as ambassador from Seleucus at the court of Palibothra, was enabled to furnish the Greeks with more authentic information, than any which they had hitherto received.

The mistaken opinions of Ptolemy as to the form of the African continent, received fresh confirmation from the testimony of the best Arabian geographers, who, in the flourishing period of the Caliphate, applied to the investigation of this interesting point. "Ptolemy had "brought round the continent of Africa unbroken, with a sweep to "the East, till he made it join the continent of Asia to the eastward "of the Golden Chersonese, making the Indian Ocean nothing but a "vast lake." The Arabians believed that the Erythræan Sea had no communication with that of Barbary, round the southernmost point of Africa; and subsequent writers maintained, that a continued tract of land stretched eastward from the neighbourhood of Sofala,

Vincent's Periplus, p. 184. Anderson on Commerce, Vol. I. Introduction.

the chief mart on the African shore, until it finally united with the Indian continent.

The two Mahomedan Travellers *, who visited India and China in the 9th century, relate that in their time, the wreck of an Arabian vessel was found in the Mediterranean sea—a circumstance in their opinion scarcely credible, because God had put a separation between those seas; and even were the fact stated indisputable, according to their system, the vessel must have come from the East by the seas above China, and so through the sea of Al Chozars or Muscovy, rather than by any inlet into the canal of the Mediterranean, from the Eastern Ocean round the continent of Africa.

The sea of Al Chozars was the Caspian Sea, which was then supposed to have a communication with the ocean. See Renaudot Anciennes Relations; Vincent's Periplus, Appendix, p. 80, on the Map of the World, according to Pomponius Mela; and that of Al Edrisi, in the same work, p. 83.

The ancients had, however, an inland Caspian Sea, besides this of Al Chozars. The vessel's prow, found by Eudoxus in the Æthiopian Sea, was supposed to have been that of one belonging to Cadiz. The expeditions of Alexander, the Syrian Kings, the Parthians and the Romans, did not altogether clear up this difficulty. Ptolemy undoubtedly thought it to be a lake, though it was still supposed by many to have a communication with the Scythian ocean, "and the mouth of "the Volga was taken for a strait, or prolongation of it." So late as the year 1540, European writers were found to favour this opinion, grounded on the authorities of Pliny, Solinus, Strabo, and Priscian.

Bruce, Vol. I. p. 66. Pliny, Lib. II. c. lxvii.

Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, B. XXI. c. vii. Anderson on Commerce, Introd. Vol. II. p. 78, and 238.

* Renaudot's Remarks on the second Account of these Travellers, X. p. 30, and p. 59. The ancients seem to have extended the limits of the Erythræan Sea beyond the Streights of Babelmandel, and to have included a large portion of what we now call the Indian Ocean.—Robertson's India, p. 190. Vincent's Periplus, p. 4.

Nor were the true shape and dimensions of this sea properly discovered, until the late reign of Peter the Great, when the English merchants, under the authority of the Czar, began to trade to Astracan and Persia, in the hope of discovering Cathay, or China, which, from the wars between the Turks and Persians, was for the present unsuccessful. It is however to be remarked, that in 1613 some English merchants had formed the scheme of renewing the ancient commerce with India through the Caspian, the Oxus then flowing into the Caspian, but since diverted into the lake Coral, or the Desart, by the Tartars, through jealousy of the Russians, thence to the Hydaspes and Lahore. From Astracan the goods were to have been shipped to Europe, on the Volga to the Dwina and Archangel. As it might be expected, this plan was never carried into effect.

From this period until the 15th century, little improvement appears to have been made in geographical knowledge; when the works of the ancient writers on India, which had escaped the fury of the Turks, having been diffused through Italy, by displaying the difficulties of the ancient communication with that country, excited the commercial states to attempt an intercourse in a different direction.

Ptolem. Geog. Lib. VII. c. 1, 2.

With the fall of the Greek empire, the Genoese power, excluded from Colchis, and the route by Northern India, declined in the Euxine; and the eastern commerce was almost wholly transferred to their more fortunate rivals of Venice and Pisa. The European trade, from her intimate connection with the Hanseatic Towns, was principally engrossed by Venice, whose commercial speculations were now extended and carried on, without the fears or the risk of competition.

Of the great European states which have since contended for the empire of India, England was only slowly recovering from the effects of the bloody contests of the two houses of York and Lancaster; and so little were her true interests understood, that at this time her trade was principally in the hands of Italian merchants, and her wool—her staple

See Anderson on Com. Vol. I. p. 515.

commodity—was sold and manufactured in Flanders, being exported, together with her lead and tin, in their raw state, in vessels belonging to the Hanse Towns.

France, enfeebled by the effects of her long wars with England, was still involved in disputes with her great vassals. Holland had yet no independent existence. Spain, long oppressed with the Moorish yoke, was still gallantly fighting for her freedom; whilst the commerce and industry of Germany, and the more Northern States, were entirely confined to the free cities, or the towns included under the protection of the Hanseatic League.

CHAP. V.

OF THE DISCOVERIES OF THE PORTUGUESE.

Such was the situation of Europe, when the Portuguese, freed from the power of the Moors by the conquest of Algarva, and surrounded by neighbours who still preyed upon each other, devoted their thoughts to conquest and discovery. At this period the mariners' compass, said to have been the discovery of a citizen of Amalfi, in the 12th century, which had hitherto been rather an object of curiosity than of use, was successfully applied towards the purposes of navigation. The exertions of the Portuguese were principally directed by the genius and enlightened mind of Henry V. son of John I. who, during his attendance upon his father in the expedition against Ceuta, A. D. 1415. having learned that regular caravans * passed from Barbary to the

* Bruce speaks of the Abyssinian caravans to Cairo; and Volney saw, at the same place, pilgrims from the river of Senegal, Algiers, Tripoli, Tunis, &c. on their route to Mecca. Vol. I. p. 207.

coast of Guinea, had thence projected the discovery of that coast by sea. Henry encouraged and maintained at his little Court, at Sagrez, near Cape St. Vincent's, a chosen body of learned men, with whose assistance and co-operation he traced the progress of ancient navigation, and compared the jarring accounts of Travellers, Historians, and Geographers.

Infinite hazards were encountered in the first voyages of discovery attempted under his direction: and after 40 years' laborious research, the Portuguese had advanced no further than those countries, which skirt the Atlantic to the South of the river of Senegal. Here, indeed, their wonder and curiosity were excited by the appearance of men, differing, both in form and manners, from any they had hitherto seen. Their fears were suddenly alarmed, and they trembled to prosecute their discoveries still farther to the South; lest, in venturing to cross the Line, they might encounter the dangers and dreadful heats of that parching climate and those burning zones, to whose influence they ascribed the disgusting and deformed appearance of the Savages they beheld.

Sierra Leone.

Henry, who had been the animating soul of all their plans and expeditions, was now dead; and this great object was doomed once more to languish, either from the want of a leader, or its benefits were undervalued by the selfishness and ignorance of those, who had at first feared and opposed its success. The travels, however, of Pedro de Covillam * to the coast of Malabar, by the Streights of Ba-

1463.

1484 to 1489.

The Fortunate or Canary Islands were discovered by John de Bethencourt, a Norman Gentleman, in 1402. Being made King of these Islands by Henry III. King of Castille, he returned, and reduced them to his subjection.

* The embassy of Covillam had been projected in consequence of the reports of Diego Cam, who in 1484 having discovered the kingdom of Congou, learned from the natives, that a Christian King reigned in Æthiopia, of the name of Prester John, and whose power they greatly extolled.—See also Vincent's Periplus, p. 194. Bruce, Vol. II. p. 107.

bèlmandel, and his interview on his return with Alexander the Abyssinian King (whose empire was at that time supposed to have been the same with that of the famous Priest, or Prester John), cast a new light upon this interesting subject; and the remarks and observations he was then enabled to make, from his intercourse with the Arabs and Moors * who traversed the interior of Africa, and brought the precious commodities of those parts to the Abyssinian Court, gave a further assurance of ultimate success to the prospects of his enterprising countrymen.

John II. who had appointed Covillam to this embassy, no longer doubted of the practicability of a South-Western Passage to India, by the continent of Africa; and his hopes were soon realized by the successful labours of Bartholomew Diaz, who in 1486 discovered the Stormy Cape; but not daring to pass beyond it on account of its tempestuous sea, he returned to Europe, and communicated the joyful tidings to the Court of Lisbon.

But John II. soon after dying, the spirit of discovery relaxed under his successor Emanuel, until roused by the report of the Spanish conquests. Columbus having, in his bold researches for a Western Pas- 1492. A. D.
sage to India, discovered the Islands of the Western Continent, this Prince declared himself the patron of Henry's ardent plans. A new expedition was therefore fitted out, under the able conduct of Vasquez

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* The Kaffres bordering upon the Cape territories profess a species of Mahomedanism, and claim their descent from the Arabs.—(Barrow's S. Africa.)

About the middle of the 7th century, before the Arabian conquest, all the inhabitants of Africa, whether they were descended from Numidians, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, or Goths, were comprehended under the general name of Mauri, or Moors. All those nations were converted to Mahomedanism, under the Caliphate empire. Many Numidian tribes, however, wandered across the Desart, south, to avoid the fury of the Arabians, and discovered and subdued the Negro nations settled on the river of Senegal. Parke's Travels, p. 112.

de Gama, who passed the Stormy Promontory *, now called the Cape of Good Hope; whence a short and successful passage conducted him to Melinda, a principal mart on the South-East shore of Africa. At Melinda he first learned the successful termination of his labours; and here, taking an Indian pilot, and shaping his course to the Eastward, he arrived at Calicut, on the coast of Malabar, on the 20th May, 1497, then the most flourishing port of the peninsula of India, and the principal residence of the Zamorin, or Emperor.

Having at length arrived in India, by a passage so long the object of their inquiries and labours, every energy was exerted to render their discoveries of permanent utility to their country. Their first appearance as a new people was welcomed with the hospitable attentions of the native Princes; every encouragement was shewn to their commerce, and with the Arabian merchants they might easily have divided the wealth of the East. But the object of the Portuguese was not merely trade, or a precarious dependance on the caprices of a foreign power; the indulgence of the Princes served only to flatter their vanity, and animate their ambition; their factories soon became forts; the spirit which had excited their first enterprises was now more fully developed in the thirst of conquest; jealousies arose; the fears of the Indian Rajahs were alarmed; and the Zamorin, instigated by the hatred and

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* Dr. Vincent says, that Diaz passed nearly a degree beyond it: however, Gama has the principal merit of the discovery.—Periplus, p. 207.

Barrow's S. Africa, p. 2. The Portuguese, though they first discovered the Cape, never made any settlement there. In the early voyages undertaken by the British merchants trading to the East Indies, the Cape was always made the general rendezvous, and place of refreshment; and it was then considered a place of so much importance, that in 1620 formal possession was taken of it in the name of King James. A period of 30 years elapsed, antecedent to the establishment of any colony; when the United Provinces, seeing its importance, settled there in 1650.

The Portuguese attempted, but in vain, to wrest it from them.

misrepresentations of the Mahomedans, whose policy and interest united with their religion, to counteract the progress of their Christian rivals, would *now* have gladly expelled a people whom so lately he had welcomed to his shores.

The Portuguese *, however, lost not a moment in consolidating their power, and neglected no means by which they might protect and monopolize this lucrative commerce. The settlement of Ormuz, a small 1507.
island on the coast of Kerman, or Carmania, at the entrance of the Streights of Mocandan, which had long been the centre of the rich trade between Persia and India under the Califfs, gave them a command of the Persian Gulph. They built a fort at Cape Aden, and seized also upon Socotora, an island famous for its aloes in the days of Alexander, and conveniently placed in the Gulph of the Red Sea, between the African and Arabian shores, 180 leagues from the Streights of Babelmandel. The city of Goa, the island of Ceylon, the city and coast of Malacca, and the Spice Islands, submitted 1511.
to their arms; and in the year 1517 they arrived in China, where they were allowed to settle in the little island of Macao, at the mouth of the river of Canton.

These possessions, aided by their courage and superior skill in naval tactics, rendered them masters of the sea: the Arabian cruizers were every where successfully attacked; and from the Gulph of Persia and coast of Zanguebar, to the Streights of Malacca and the seas of Japan and China, their power was either feared or respected.

The Venetians had long foreseen the consequences likely to arise

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* The coast of Brazil was discovered by the Portuguese about the year 1500, in their second voyage to India, under Cabral and Bartholomew Diaz.

Magellan, disgusted with the Portuguese service, offered to Charles V. to discover a passage to India by the West, in order to divide the rich traffic of the Spice Islands. He passed the Streights in S. America, which have since gone by his name, in 1520; and entering the South Pacific Ocean, arrived in a few months at the Philippine Islands, which he took possession of in the name of the Spanish Monarch.

from the Portuguese discoveries: but hitherto, opposition and intrigue had been ineffectually exerted, and their intercourse with the East daily declined.

Raynal's India, Vol. I. p. 167.

Before the Europeans doubled the Cape of "Good Hope*, the "Moors or Arabians, who were the only maritime people in India, "sailed from Surat and Bengal to Malacca, where they found ships "from the Molucca Islands, Japan, and China." The conquest of Socotora and Ormuz, and the rapid strides the Portuguese power was making in the East, roused the anger of the Moors and Egyptians, who soon perceived that the trade of Alexandria would be annihilated, and the sources of eastern wealth be diverted into other channels. The offer of the Venetians to supply a fleet to the Egyptians, was therefore gladly accepted; and the timber, being cut in the forests of Dalmatia, was conveyed up the Nile, and across the desert to the arsenal at Suez, and there formed into ships. But the ill-managed galleons of the Moors could not cope with the Portuguese squadrons, under the able conduct of the Albuquerques; and Egypt, soon afterwards submitting to the Ottoman yoke, under Selim I. again became the seat of anarchy; and the commerce of the East, wrested almost wholly from the Venetians, fell into the hands of their more fortunate rivals.

1508.

Knolle's Hist. Turks, p. 670, Folio.

During a century, the Portuguese enjoyed, without a rival, a dominion acquired by their enterprise and valour, and confirmed by all the terrors of the Papal bulls, which had expressly stipulated, that they should preach the gospel, and earnestly endeavour to propagate the faith. No power had hitherto dared to dispute their exclusive navi-

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* There is, however, every reason to believe that the Chinese visited the Persian and African shores long before the arrival of Gama. Marco Polo describes a voyage he made in one of their junks for Madagascar. Many of the African tribes, especially the Hottentots, and many of the inhabitants of the eastern coast of South America, bear a strong resemblance in their persons to the Chinese.

Barrow's Chi- na, c. xi.

gation of the Eastern Seas; and the productions of India were only to be obtained through their mediation and direction. These high privileges had been greatly favoured by the unsettled state of the great powers of Europe. France, engaged in civil wars, seemed indifferent to, or incapable of, all commercial speculation; and the English marine*, though greatly improved and distinguished under the illustrious reign of Elizabeth, had been hitherto inadequate to any great purpose of effective enterprise.

CHAP. VI.

SETTLEMENTS AND CONQUESTS OF THE DUTCH, ENGLISH, FRENCH, AND OTHER NATIONS.

The ambition of Charles V. and the bigotry of the Philips, opened in some measure those sources of wealth, which had so long been shut to the rest of Europe. In their struggles for liberty, the Dutch had derived immense aids from their commercial navy. A desire to participate in the wealth of the East, had first driven them to dispute with the Portuguese, whose crown was then worn by the Spanish Kings, their right to an exclusive trade with India. The contest was at first unequal, but courage and perseverance at length prevailed †;

* Sir Francis Drake passed the Magellanic Streights in 1579, and arriving at the Spice Islands, he took possession of Ternate in the name of Elizabeth; but the Court of England did not, until the year 1600, take any effectual means to secure any portion of the trade or possessions of India.

† The Dutch took Ceylon from the Portuguese in 1602, with circumstances of the most savage cruelty; nor have they scrupled upon other occasions to be equally barbarous to their enemies in the East.

and the Dutch, from being only, in competition with their neighbours of the Hanse Towns and the Flemings, the carriers of European commodities, soon made their harbours the great mart and receptacle of eastern commerce.

The assistance afforded by Elizabeth to the United Provinces, had furnished the English merchants not only with the means of improving their own mercantile knowledge, but of tracing the sources whence a people so small in number, and so deficient in natural productions, drew their wealth, or were enabled effectually to resist and discomfit such potent enemies.

The English had commenced their maritime enterprises by trading to the North; where, by the port of Archangel, they had long maintained a commercial intercourse with the Czar of Muscovy. Fruitless attempts had been, however, made to discover a passage to China by the Frozen Ocean; when, tempted by the rising power of the Dutch, the British merchants ventured by degrees into the ports of the Indian seas, their vessels either doubling the Cape of Good Hope, or sailing by the newly-discovered passage of the Southern Pacific Ocean. In the East, they were kindly received by the native Princes, whom the Dutch and Portuguese had altogether alienated by their cruelty and extortion.

The power of Portugal had long been on the decline: the thirst of conquest, the numerous garrisons that were necessary to keep in awe such immense and distant possessions, had drained her of a large portion of her inhabitants; nor could this loss be supplied by the natural population of the country. Though her principal views were apparently confined to traffic, and choice had been wisely made of the insular stations of Goa, Bombay, Salsette, and Diu; and though she never possessed any considerable extent of inland territory; Portugal still maintained a large body of Europeans, either as a check upon the Mogul Power, or as the means of controuling the influence of their European rivals at the Courts of the native Princes. But the

progress of time, the increase of luxury, and the distance of their own country, had changed the character of the Portuguese; and the religious zeal, which had formerly added so much force and activity to their native courage, now produced in them nothing but the most ferocious acts of cruelty and pillage upon the defenceless Indians, whose property they affected to consider as much their own, as the sovereignty over the kingdoms which had been granted to their monarchs by the Papal bulls. Their martial spirit had also sunk from the enervating effects of an eastern climate into effeminacy and voluptuousness; and though, in their short struggle with the Dutch, they had evinced some sparks of their ancient enterprise, this was their last contest for power; and their fairest possessions fell an easy prey to their frugal and more industrious rivals.

But if the Portuguese retained no longer the sovereign power in India, they had still sufficient influence at the eastern courts to counteract the first attempts of the English, who were at that time thwarted by the ignorance and weakness of the councils at home, or retarded by the civil wars, which ensued soon after the accession of Charles I.

The voyages of Drake and other English commanders had however given a high consequence to the English name and character in the East. Before the death of Elizabeth, some alliances had been entered into with the native princes; and a few inconsiderable factories had been settled at Surat and Brampour, under the capricious grants of the Court of Delhi, whose favour had been partially conciliated by the embassy and rich presents of Sir Thomas Roe. But their most material alliance was with Abbas the Great, King, or Shah of Persia, who, after the conquest of Candahar, had wrested a large portion of her eastern provinces from the Turkish empire. 1611 to 1615

This prince, jealous of the Portuguese, who confined and reduced the trade of his subjects to their own arbitrary terms, joined with the English in the capture of the fort and isle of Ormua, which having been taken by the Portuguese from the King of Lor, was

1662. greatly improved and strengthened. After the demolition of this place, Gombron, or Bender-Abbassi, on the opposite Kerman coast, through the immunities offered to the English, and the industry of the Armenian merchants, whom Shah Abbas had transplanted to Ispahan, soon became the great mart between Persia and the Indies, and an immense source of wealth to those, by whose means this intercourse was principally maintained.

The active spirit of Cromwell, and perhaps his hatred of the Dutch, who, by their victories over the Portuguese, and their exclusive trade to the Spice Islands, had usurped the dominion of the sea, and patronised the attempts of the Stuarts to recover the English crown, revived the declining trade of England with the East. But Cromwell did not confine his views merely to the protection of the British commerce; he demanded satisfaction, and was in some measure revenged upon the cruel policy of the Dutch, who had stained their national faith, by their barbarous and perfidious massacre at Amboyna, in 1622, and by other instances of tyranny and oppression in the Indian seas. The victories of the Protector's fleets secured the freedom of the English trade in Europe, and accompanied them into Asia, Arabia, Persia, Hindostan, the eastern parts of India, China; and all the markets, where they had formerly trafficked, rejoicing at their deliverance, were again opened to their reception.

Anderson on Commerce. Introduction.

When Europe began to revive from the darkness of the feudal times, the exclusive privileges and municipal restraints granted to those who were called the freemen of the great maritime towns, formed a new era in the history of civilization. Possessing but deficient resources, and dependent in a great measure upon the precarious will of their nobles, the European princes were glad to seize any opportunity of improving their revenues; and they therefore readily listened to any proposals by which they might be increased.

With the new privileges acquired by the depression of the higher

orders, and invited by the advantages gained by the southern nations, whose merchants at first engrossed all the trade of Europe, the cities and towns, patronised by the princes, and some of the more enlightened nobility, began to emerge from obscurity, and to apply with diligence to the affairs of commerce. Adventurers were soon found prepared to undertake the most distant expeditions, and their first exertions, as being attended with very considerable expense, were secured from interruption by especial grants and indulgencies from the crown. What was, however, at first a favour, became at length the source of taxation. As the expenses of the government increased, the wealth of the mercantile interest was called in to its support: hence arose the monopolies, which, designed at first to assist, imposed at length such restraints upon commerce, as almost to destroy it. From the time of Henry VII. to the era of the Revolution, this mischievous interference of the Government with the free course of trade, ruined all fair competition, and filled the nation with complaints. "The art, the science, the mystery of merchandize," were then considered as so difficult to be acquired, or at least were made to appear so by those interested in the measure, that nothing but a heaven-born genius, or a long servitude, could entitle any one to practise it with effect.

The English East India Company began under similar auspices. Their first charter was granted by Elizabeth, in the year 1601. It was to continue 15 years; and the greatest hopes were held out of benefit to the nation from so lucrative a trade. But, even in that age, objections to the charter were started by the independent merchants; it was also considered as exhausting the treasure, and draining the resources of the nation, and great interest was exerted to prevent its renewal. James I. however, confirmed it before its expiration; and the Company, though obliged to fight in the eastern seas, with the Turks and the Portuguese, continued to increase their shipping, and to augment their trade. At the period of the embassy of Sir Thomas

Roe, their factories were spread over the coast from Surat to the eastern islands.

Complaints were however urged against the eastern trade. The Russian and Turkey Companies raised a violent clamour against the mischiefs which they asserted it brought upon their established commerce with those countries. The Company had now existed 28 years; when, impelled by the repeated injuries they had received from the Dutch, and the heavy charges brought against them at home, they petitioned the House of Commons to consider their situation, and to protect their trade. The Parliament was dissolved, the Company were left without redress, and their trade was afterwards carried on with various success; until, in 1637, a new company was chartered, on the plausible pretext of profit to the Crown; but it soon sunk into insignificance. It appears to have been the intention of Cromwell to have abolished the East India Company, and to have declared the navigation and commerce to the Indies free and open. This, it seems, was actually done; the Dutch were alarmed at the spirit of the adventurers, who now swarmed in the eastern seas; the Company, from the republican temper of the times, had been afraid to plead their royal grants, and from 1653 to 1657, the multitude of interlopers had almost reduced them to ruin. Cromwell was at length induced to restore the old company, and by allowing them to increase their stock, they were enabled to resume their trade with greater prospect of success. After the restoration of Charles II. the Company's affairs seem to have been involved in the greatest confusion; a new charter was however granted, under new regulations, "by which every one free* of the Company paid a certain sum of "money on the fitting out of their voyages, for which he had credit "in the Company's books, and had his proportionable dividend on

See Anderson on Commerce, Vol. II. p. 263, &c. 329. 431. 462. A.D. 1628.

1661.

Anderson on Commerce, Vol. II. p. 461.

* Any servant or facturer, apprentice of the Company, might be admitted to this freedom of being adventurers, by a majority of votes of the general court.

" the profits of the voyage:" and without their licence none were allowed to trade to India.

In 1677 a new clamour was raised against the Company's exclusive trade; pamphlets were written for and against it, and the subject was debated with all the virulence of party spirit. It was asserted by the advocates for the Company, that the trade was highly profitable to the nation; that it was impossible that individuals could gain so much as a joint stock Company; that " the true ground of " the present Company's many enemies proceeded from their not " having subscribed at the beginning, nor yet afterwards, when the " books were laid open, but were at once filled with envy at the " Company's prosperity." Whatever has been since written on the advantages of an exclusive trade, has been principally drawn from this dissertation. The Company still existed, but made heavy complaints against the interlopers, who, sanctioned by the opinion of the great lawyers, declared " that the king could not legally obstruct them, " unless their exclusive powers had the sanction of an act of Parlia- " ment." In 1683, however, they found means to obtain a new charter from Charles, which was afterwards, in 1685, confirmed by James, by which they were empowered to seize upon the ships and merchandise of those who interfered with their trade.

Anderson on Commerce, Vol. II. p. 547.

At the glorious era of the reformation, the Company, by the termination of a successful war with the Mogul, had obtained, by that Prince's own firmaun, a fuller security for their trade and eastern possessions, and a restitution of their former privileges; a pompous account was therefore published of their flourishing condition; but it was impossible for them to conceal the distress to which this war had brought them. This, joined to the continued clamours of the private merchants, and the papers circulated, displaying their crimes and misdemeanours, so far influenced the House of Commons, that, in the same year they addressed the King to dissolve the old Company,

1691.

agreeable to the power reserved by the Crown in their charter, and to incorporate a new one. The King hesitated; and the interest of the Company being effectually exerted, their licence was continued for three years.

From this period to 1694 the Company seem to have resorted to the most exceptionable measures, in order to secure their exclusive rights. Under this influence, a new charter was obtained, the interlopers were bought off and divided; the most infamous bribery was employed to procure the favour of the House and the Ministers; and some of the most active of the Directors, refusing to disclose their secret practices in their examination before the House of Commons, were committed to the Tower.

The effect of these malversations produced what might well be expected—division amongst the Members of the Company, and in the
1698. end a separation of commercial interest. The new subscribers refused to come into the new Joint Stock Company, and traded separately to India. Armed with equal privileges with their rivals, the trade, whose principal success depended on the unanimity of the conductors, was carried on with the greatest animosity between the new society and the old; the former were favoured by the Whig, the latter by the Tory party. The British character, from the natural jealousies and misrepresentations which ensued in consequence of this disunion, was soon rendered contemptible both at home and abroad. The Dutch seized upon the greatest part of the trade, and through the mischievous struggle of petty interests, the affairs of both Companies were involved in such confusion, that, for the sake
1702 to 1708. even of public tranquillity, they were consolidated* by the Queen, under the present name of the United Company of Merchants of

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* The Merchants of Bristol, Liverpool, and Hull, petitioned against it, but in vain.—Anderson Hist. Commerce, Vol. III. p. 29.

England trading to the East Indies. During these troubles at home, the Company, as has been said, were involved in a dangerous contest abroad.

By the marriage of Charles II. with a princess of Portugal, the Island of Bombay had been ceded, as part of her dower, to the English crown: the disputes which prevailed between the two companies in Europe had spread into Asia; and the Governor of Bombay, finding the affairs of his employers upon the decline, resolved to acquire by force, what could no longer be obtained by the fairer purposes of peaceful commerce. The Moguls had then no other maritime town than Surat; thence they drew all their articles of commerce, and the European nations, who had not hitherto formed any great settlements in the Gulph of Bengal, or the Coast of Coromandel, bought at this port most of their goods for the European market. The people of Surat had also, for this purpose, taken care to procure a navy superior to their neighbours: the town was protected by a fort, which served as well for the security of the resident merchants, as a defence against the pirates that infested the eastern seas. This harbour, though not an excellent one, was the best on the coast, and had, from the earliest period of the Indian history, been the emporium of the Indian, Arabian, the Persian, the Greek, Mogul, Jew, and Armenian merchants.

While the Mogul vessels traded on the coast, between Surat and the Ganges, in the period of a profound peace, and under the sanction of the Imperial flag, they were suddenly attacked by the English cruisers, and these ravages were carried to such an extent, that the heaviest vengeance of the Emperor was threatened against the oppressor.

Aurungzebe was then too powerful to be despised with impunity; nor was he slow in executing the revenge he had meditated. Bombay was invaded by a powerful army, and the English were compelled, after an ineffectual resistance, to make the most ignominious

concessions at the Court of the Emperor, for the insults and piracies they had practised on his defenceless subjects.

Aurungzebe was however too wise a prince to banish them wholly from his dominions; he saw and felt the utility of their intercourse with his subjects; and though he still allowed them to build factories on the Coast*, it was always with the most cautious reserve, that their fortifications should be erected under the immediate inspection of his own officers.

But before we pursue this history, some account must now be given of the commerce of the other powers of Europe with India; and here, in order to prevent future digression, we shall be compelled to anticipate events, which more properly belong to the following chapter.

The civil wars which had agitated France checked the first efforts that were made towards a commerce with India, or the people were content to pay to foreign industry what their own might as well have shared. It was in vain that, seeing the advantage of the eastern trade, Francis I. by his declarations of the years 1537 and 1543, exhorted his subjects to undertake such long voyages; it was in vain that Henry III. renewed these invitations by an express edict in 1578. Henry IV. by granting high privileges and exemptions in 1601, attempted to restore what his predecessors had so ineffectually begun, and by the establishment of a Company for the Indian trade, endeavoured to get a share, if possible, of the riches of the East, which the Portuguese, the English, and the Dutch, were contending for. The benefits, however, accruing from these voyages were not sufficient to encourage new adventurers. Under his son Louis XIII. in 1615, the merchants of Rouen, associated with this Company, did little more than waste their resources in conquering and colonizing

Raynal East Indies, Vol. I. B. IV.

Anderson on Commerce, Vol. I. p. 241.

* The king, says Tavernier, suffered not any Frank to have a house of his, for fear that he should make a fortress of it.

Pt. III. [illegible]

Madagascar, an island discovered by the Portuguese in 1506, which was yielded to them by the French Crown in full property. The want of funds however, and improper management, soon reduced the Company to a state of bankruptcy; and it required all the wisdom and care of the great Colbert* to revive the Indian trade. By his indefatigable exertions, in 1664 a new Company was formed, with the privilege of an exclusive trade to India for 50 years. Madagascar, now called l'Isle Dauphin, was restored to the Crown, as it had been fully proved that the Company were unable to maintain it, not only from their own deficiency of means, but from the savage and unconquerable nature of the inhabitants. Louis took a considerable part in the risk, and advanced large sums for the benefit of the trade, and the highest hopes were again entertained of its ultimate success. On relinquishing Madagascar†, the French vessels first sailed direct to India, and established factories at several places on the coast of the peninsula. The sovereign council which had been held at Isle Dauphin, was now transferred to Surat; where, in 1667, they had established a factory, as a more convenient station; and the settlements of Pondicherry in 1676, and of Masulipatnam in the kingdom of Golconda in 1669, served to heighten the consequence of their eastern connections, and for a time to support the unfavourable aspect of the Company's affairs. But all the efforts

Hist. of the Indies, Raynal, B. IV. Vol. I. See Trade of India, p. 11.

Anderson on Commerce, Vol. II. p. 481.

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* "To the East Indies," says Anderson, Hist. Commerce, "France made some "early voyages; yet they had no settled and regular commerce thither, until the time "of their great Colbert, who persuaded Louis XIV. in the year 1664, to establish a "company to that end."

† The being driven from Madagascar, the French settled, in 1672, at Isle Bourbon, 300 miles to the east of Madagascar, which is now their chief settlement, and the station where their ships touched and took in refreshments, in their voyages to India. It has, however, no harbour; to supply this defect, in 1720 they took possession of Mauritius, changing its name to the *Isle of France*; the harbour is to the N. W. of the island.

of Colbert, and all the arrets of the king, could not retard their fall. The alliance and promises* of the King of Siam, in 1685, proved equally unsuccessful; and on the death of their great patron and protector, Colbert, in 1683, disputes arising between the farmers general about the rate of duties, and the high admiral of Tholouse starting unjustifiable pretensions, their affairs became so much embarrassed, that in 1712 they were obliged to renounce their trade entirely, and to abandon or divide it with the merchants of St. Maloes; in the hope that by this association, they should be enabled to discharge the whole, or a part of the heavy debts they had accumulated.

During these disputes, the Dutch, jealous of their establishing a trade which they wished wholly to ingross, had in 1693 attacked and taken Pondicherry; the place was, however, restored, in consequence of the peace of Ryswick, 1697, and the Supreme Council, which had passed from Isle Dauphin to Surat, and been transferred to it in 1671, became the principal factory and mart of Indian commerce, including under its jurisdiction the less considerable stations of Houghley, Cossimbazar, and other factories in the kingdom of Bengal, and along the coast of Coromandel.

These settlements could not, however, support the Company's declining affairs; their finances again became so embarrassed as to engage the attention of Government, and new measures were framed for their relief. To this purpose, adopting the wild speculations of law, four several companies that traded to America, China, and the continent of Africa, were incorporated by a royal

* The French Indian Company obtained some cessions from the King of Pegu, who had conquered Siam, and they had a considerable factory at Rangoon. Merqui, the port of Siam, had been also yielded to Louis XIV. but it was soon lost by the folly of Falkon. The English, the Dutch, and the Armenians, could not obtain such privileges.

edict in 1719-20, under the name of the Company of the Indies; and being under better management, and aided by new resources, the aspect of their Indian affairs began to brighten, and the French name rose in the estimation of the native princes. Karical, a city belonging to the king of Tanjore, was assigned to them by the treaty 1739; and Pondicherry, from having been only an inconsiderable village, rose into such importance as to afford shelter to the fugitive family of the Nabob (Daonst Ali Khan) after his death and defeat by the Mahrattas in 1740.

OF THE SETTLEMENTS OF OTHER NATIONS.

Other nations have attempted at different times, with various success, to establish companies for the support of the eastern commerce. That of Ostend, formed soon after the treaty of Rastadt, when the sovereignty of the Spanish Netherlands was transferred to the Emperor Charles VI. was the most eminent; and under the sanction of the Imperial flag, the Flemings, assisted by the skill and capital of the English merchants, who were deprived of the free trade to India, by the late renewal of the Company's monopoly, were enabled to rival the Dutch and the English. But the rising consequence of a new company, awakened the jealousy of those, who had long considered the trade of the East as their exclusive right; remonstrances were made from Paris, the Hague, and London, in favour of their several companies. The most severe laws were passed, both in Holland and England, to prevent their subjects from trading to the East Indies under foreign companies *; and after considerable delays, and a

Ostend Company. See Anderson, 9, 1714, 1716-7.

* At all times, a considerable portion of illicit trade has been carried on with the funds of British individuals, in foreign bottoms. That trade was legalized by the act of 1793. The British residents in India may therefore be the agents of foreigners; and the Americans profiting by this, entered on the trade, supported by British capi-

See Trade with India, p. 81. 88, 99. 101.

struggle of nearly 20 years, this obnoxious company was suppressed in 1727, by the treaty signed at Paris.

Danes. The Danes first established a company at Copenhagen in 1612. In 1630, they purchased Tranquebar on the coast of Coromandel, near the French settlement of Pondicherry, which they enlarged and fortified; directing their whole attention to commerce and the arts of peace, and endearing the natives to them by a treatment at once liberal and humane. After the suspension of the Ostend Company, the Danes transferred the management of their concerns from Copenhagen to Altona, in order to induce foreigners to embark in the undertaking; and a new charter was subsequently granted for a more extensive commerce. The same attempt was made by the maritime powers upon the Danish monarch, which had proved so successful with the Emperor against the Flemings; but the prince, wisely consulting the benefit of his subjects, before the interested suggestion of his allies, not only continued his protection to the new establishment, but encouraged them to pursue their trade with greater industry and vigour.

Swedes. Under the patronage of the great Gustavus Adolphus, 1626, a company was established at Stockholm, but the wars of Germany prevented the scheme from being carried effectively into execution; and it was not until the ruin of that of Ostend, that the Swedish East India Company established at Gottenburgh, rose into any notice. The Swedes, however, not possessing any established factories in the East, their trade has not since so much increased, as to augur favourably either of the wealth, or duration of their company.

See Anderson on Commerce, V. III. p. 194.

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tal and credit. The consequence, says the author, has been, that four millions of trade have been lost to Great Britain.

CHAP. VII.

OF BENGAL.

Until the 17th century, the commerce of Europeans had been principally confined to the South-West parts of the Indian peninsula. The Portuguese alone had in the year 1534 reached the Ganges, whither they had sent an armament to assist the Sultaun; and, under promise of protecting the Gulph of Bengal from pirates, had been permitted by the Emperor Jehanguire to establish a factory at Houghley, which was in all respects subject to the Mogul government. After the Crown of Portugal had been annexed to the dominions of Philip, many of the Portuguese, disgusted with the change, threw off their allegiance to Spain, choosing rather to live as pirates on the Indian seas, than serve as slaves to a tyrant whom they feared and hated. Different bands of these exiles settled on the coast of Arracan, and in the islands scattered at the mouths of the Ganges; where, having associated in their community the profligate of all nations, they lived a predatory life*, or subsisted by serving as mercenaries in the armies of the neighbouring Rajahs.

The Dutch in 1625, and the English in 1640, had also been permitted to build factories at Houghley, then the principal residence of the Nabob of Bengal, but not a single bastion was yet erected in his territories: their trade was greatly restricted, and subject to con-

* It was in consequence of these piratical depredations that the Emperor Jehaun destroyed the churches of the Jesuit Missionaries at Agra and Lahore. His vengeance fell also upon the Portuguese factory at Houghley. The Portuguese were seized and brought to Agra, where the greater part of them were sold as slaves, or otherwise dispersed through the empire.

tinual exactions; nor were they suffered to maintain any troops, except a trifling guard for the peace of their factories.

A squadron had been fitted out from England by James II. for the purpose of supporting the East India colonies. The success obtained by this armament against the Moorish fleets, increased the consequence of the English traders; and their influence was still further heightened, by the seasonable assistance they had afforded the Nabob of Bengal, in a contest with some of his tributary Rajahs.

Meantime, the continued disputes excited both in England and Asia, by the jarring interests of the two rival Companies, had threatened a total ruin to the Indian commerce. The good sense of the nation was at length awakened; and after mature deliberation, it was resolved, that to prevent in future such dangerous and disgraceful competitions, the two Companies should be united. This measure had the desired effect. From this period the affairs of the United Company were conducted with greater prosperity, dignity, and prudence; commercial principles were better understood; and a new spirit and vigour were infused into the public regulations, both at home and abroad *.

But as the wealth of the Company increased, the demands of the Nabob and his Officers became more exorbitant; the respite of ease and independence, which had been lately enjoyed, served only to convince each new Deputy of the province, that his rapacity might more easily be satisfied.

To obviate these difficulties, in 1713 an embassy had been sent to Delhi, with rare and valuable presents; where, after many purposed delays, and the distribution of considerable bribes among the Officers

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* In the reign of George I. a new clamour was raised against the exclusive trade of the Company, the private merchants wishing to divide with them a portion of their immense profits. But this clamour was quieted by the advantages held forth to the Administration, in consequence of the regulations in the renewal of the charter. Every renewal of the charter seemed to have produced the same effects.

of the Court, some indulgence was at length obtained for the British commerce, but little prospect of territorial acquisition. The grant of a small district around Calcutta, the principal English settlement, was indeed confirmed by the Emperor; but it was rendered ineffectual to all purposes of defence and security, by the jealousy of the Officers appointed for its execution. Even at this period of the Mogul empire, the firmans, or orders of the Emperor, however implicitly obeyed in the neighbourhood of Delhi, were treated with little respect in the distant provinces, whenever they were found to interfere with the interest of the Governors.

These obstacles checked, but did not destroy the prosperity of the colony. The Court of Delhi, after what it had witnessed of the vigour, enterprise, and conquests of the Portuguese, was deservedly jealous of all European influence; and, however it might appear willing to encourage and cultivate a peaceful intercourse with merchants, it dreaded the idea of any foreign military establishment within its territories.

Of all the European nations settled in the East, the most considerable power was at this period in the hands of the French and English; but the wars which had been fomented in Europe by these rival states, had not hitherto desolated the plains of India. Whether this forbearance proceeded from a tacit compromise of individual interests, or rather from a dread of the Mogul, whose power, wealth, and armies, nominally great, still commanded respect; some degree of friendship, or at least some apparent interchange of civilities, was maintained between their factories, situated both in the peninsula and the Bengal provinces: and this appearance of friendship was preserved till the degradation of the Mogul empire; and the quarrels of the native Princes afforded a favourable opportunity for the interference of the European powers.

CHAP. VIII.

CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF THE MOGUL POWER.

But before we proceed to discuss the subject of those dissensions to which we have alluded in the last chapter, it will be necessary to give an account of the causes which led to the destruction of the Mogul empire.

Orme's Hindostan, Vol. I. sect. I. Dis.

"Europeans understand by the East Indies all the countries which, "lying south of Tartary, extend from the eastern frontier of Persia "to the eastern coasts of China. The Islands of Japan are likewise "included in this denomination; as are all the Malay Islands which "extend southward, as far as the coasts of New Holland, and eastward "to lands unknown."

Sir W. Jones's Hl. Ann. Dis.

"The ancients, from their limited knowledge both of geography "and still more of navigation, appear also to have understood India, "on its most enlarged scale, as comprehending the stupendous "hills of Thibet, the beautiful valley of Cashmire, and all the domi-"nions of the old Indo-Scythians*, the countries of Népaul and Boo-"tan, Asam, together with Siam, Ava, Arracan, and the bordering "kingdoms, as far as the China of the Hindus, or Sin of the Arabian "geographers; not to mention the whole Western Peninsula, with "the celebrated Island of Sinhála—the Ceylon of India, and the "Taprobana of antiquity."

This immense tract includes the most populous district of the habitable globe, and is peopled by nations varying in form, colour, manners, and civil institutions. Amidst the peculiarities of climate, and the diversities of situation which are here presented, the history

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Sir W. Jones's Works, Vol. V. p. 600.

* The people, so called by the Greeks, inhabited the mountains between Candáhár and India, and were perhaps nearly the same with the modern Afghans.

and character of man may be traced under all its stages and gradations, from the first dawnings of reason in a savage state, to his highest advances in arts and polity.

But our design is not so much to treat here of the countries of Asia in general, as to describe that more rich and fertile part of it, the Paradise of India, which is included between the courses of the Ganges and the Indus on the East and west*, a distance of more than 400 leagues, bounded by the Thibetian and Tartarian mountains on the north and east, and the sea on the south and west.

"The name of India can only with propriety be applied to that "country which is distinguished in Asia as well as in Europe by the "name of Hindostan." Orme's Hindostan, Vol. I. p. 41.

The limits of this country have, however, been variously extended or circumscribed, both by European and Indian geographers. It has been divided into two portions, the northern and the southern: into Hindostan Proper†, and the Deccan and Peninsula.

Hindostan, from the earliest antiquity, has been inhabited by a people who have little resemblance, either in their figure or manners,

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* For the three great divisions of India, see Sir W. Jones's Works, Vol. V. p. 579. 4to.; and Rennel's Mem. Map. Hindost. P. III. 211.; and Orme's Hindostan, Vol. I. p. 1.

† Sir W. Jones, Vol. V. p. 579, 4to.—"The ancient Persian annals give to India "a still different description, and divide it into three parts: 1. Guzzurat, or the "Deccan, including the Temple of Sumnaut, and most of the southern provinces. "2. Malabar, or the Land of Pepper; the countries of the Malays, and the Isles "of the Ocean, to the south-west and east; the Golden Chersonese, or Siam, and "the Birman Empire; and the Islands farther eastward. 3. Maber, which extends "from the Gulph of Bengal, on both sides the Ganges, as far northwards as the "Streights of Kapélé."

Major Rennel, in his Memoirs of the Map of Hindostan, says, P. lii. that Maber is understood to comprehend the south part of the Peninsula. The Carnatic was the name for the Peninsula in general, and included all the country that lay to the eastward of the Gauts, and to the south of the Kistna river.—Ibid. P. lii. and 211.

to any of the contiguous nations. This people, although frequently subdued by foreign powers, and rarely reigned over by a dynasty of native princes, has so preserved its ancient character and manners, that the descriptions received of them 22 centuries ago, strictly represent their present state. At what time the inhabitants of Hindostan first settled into any regular form of government, is not now easy to determine; their situation, their ancient records, the immutability of their customs, their religious and civil institutions, seem to lay claim to as high antiquity, as that period after the general deluge, when the sons of Noah, dispersed into various quarters of the globe, peopled new countries, and carried with them the arts and sciences of a rude state.

To trace, however, the early history of India, from the scattered records, now extant, would contribute very little to our information and improvement. Like the histories of all early periods, it is involved in the fabulous accounts of their heroes and demigods; their priests are magicians, and their earth and heavens are peopled with genii, spirits, and demons. "Indeed the commencement of every history is fabulous, and the most enlightened nations, after they have arrived at that degree of civilization and importance which has enabled and induced them to commemorate their actions, have always found a vacancy at their outset; which invention, or at best presumption, must supply. Such fictions appear at first in the form of traditions; and having in this shape amused successive generations, by a gratification of their national vanity, they are committed to writing, and acquire the authority of history."

Vansittart on the Afghans Asiat. Society.

It is recorded by Herodotus, on the doubtful testimony of Egyptian priests, that Sesostris, one of their most ancient kings, having sailed from the Arabian Gulf with a fleet of war, subjected to his dominion the inhabitants of the Erythræan Sea *; whence steering farther, he ar-

Lib. XI. Sect. 102.

See Vincent's Peripl. p. 264.

* The ancients seem to have extended the limits of the Erythræan Sea, beyond the

rived in a sea which was no longer navigable, on account of the shoals, βραχέων. He is said to have returned afterwards to Egypt, and collecting an immense army, to have subdued the greater part of Asia; then passing into Europe, he conquered the Thracians and Scythians, and on his return from this expedition founded a colony (Colchis) on the Phasis *. Diodorus gives to this mighty king a still more extensive power, and says, that with a fleet of 400 long ships, he sailed into the Eastern Sea, and conquered all the islands and sea-coast of the Indian Peninsula, as far as the mouths of the Ganges; where, imitating the conduct of the fabled Dionysius, he erected triumphal arches in honour of his victories, whilst his army marching through Phœnicia, Syria, Assyria, Media, and the North India eastward, crossed the Ganges, and extended their conquests to the extremities of the Indian Ocean. Lib. II. (Corea.)

But we can place but little reliance upon the exploits of such doubtful heroes: they resemble too much the fabled marches of Dionysius, who (whether he be considered as the Grecian Bacchus with his army of Satyrs, the Indian Rama, or the Egyptian Osiris,) is said to have founded the first regular monarchy in India, and to have been long revered there as a sovereign, and adored as a God.

To the same doubtful class must we refer the conquests of Hercules, the Belus of Assyria, the Egyptian Thoth and Hermes; these are either fables disguising the adventures of other heroes, or, if such personages ever did exist, their history is so much involved in mystery, that we can ill distinguish what is true, from what is merely invention. The celebrated expedition of Semiramis † rests not upon

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Streights of Babel-Mandel, and to have included a large portion of what is now called the Indian Ocean. Robertson's India, 4to. 190. Vincent's Perip. 4.

* Sesostris is said to have founded this colony, to check the irruptions of the Scythian hordes.

† Semiramis passed the Indus with the assistance of the Phœnician and Cyproit seamen in her service.

much clearer evidence. It does not appear that the Assyrians ever penetrated far beyond the north west frontiers of India; at least it is well ascertained, that the scène of the romantic achievements of their queen never extended beyond the regions more immediately bordering upon the Indus.

Jumna, Vincent's Perip. p. 59.

The wars of Darius Hystaspis * did not extend the Persian empire far beyond the rivers which form the sources of the Indus, or the modern Panjab. The inhabitants of these parts are described as fierce and warlike; whilst the account of those to the southward †, who were never subdued, corresponds in many particulars, more especially in what relates to their simple diet and abstinence from animal food, with the character and manners of the modern Hindus.

Herodot. Lib. III. 100.

Whatever reliance we may be inclined to place upon the relation of early conquests in this interesting country, all the various narratives agree in this particular; they describe a people considerably advanced in civilization, living under the influence of regular laws and a fixed government; and, what is still more important, that the arts were in that state of improvement, which presupposes a nation to have long passed through those revolutions, which, in altering primitive manners, give to society a better form, and to government a more permanent security.

From the age of Alexander to the birth of Christ, little is satisfac-

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* Darius imposed a heavy tribute upon the country, and made it the 20th satrapy of his empire. The Indians served afterwards under the Persian ensigns; and we find them in the muster of the army of Xerxes, on his invasion of Greece. It must, however, be understood, that it was only Ariana which was subject to his power.

† In the Excerpta Ctesia, amidst much marvellous and absurd matter, may be traced many of the great outlines of the Indian character. The people of Southern India are described as simple, just, and honest; addicted to pastoral habits, and living on the simplest diet. Ctesias was taken prisoner at the battle of Cunaxa; and having healed the wound of Artaxerxes Mnemon, was received into the highest favour by the prince, and lived afterwards seventeen years in his service, during which time he compiled Notices of the Persian and Indian Histories.

torily known of the interior of the country; but this prince had taken such precautions to secure his Indian conquests, that even after his death, their allegiance was for some time confirmed to his successors. The northern provinces, however, soon threw off the Persian yoke, and a Greek kingdom was formed in Bactria. But Seleucus, having recovered Babylon from his rival Antigonus, and again reduced Bactria and Hyrcania under his yoke, prepared to march forward into India. It is probable that Texiles and Porus, twelve years after the death of Alexander, either impressed with the memory of that prince's magnanimity, or dreading the bravery of the Macedonian forces, opposed no material obstacles to the advance of his army. But either deterred by the formidable accounts he had received of the power and resources of Sandracottus, who ruled over the Prasii and Gargasidæ, or the country from the conflux of the Ganges and the Jumna to the eastern limits of India, and skirted by the western mountains which separate Tartary from Hindostan; or, impelled by the accounts he had received from Lesser Asia, of the ravages of Antigonus and his son Demetrius; the Macedonian Prince wisely relinquished a project, which had defeated the skill and intrepidity of the son of Philip. An amicable adjustment ensued; Megasthenes was sent as ambassador to Palibothra, a city to which it has been asserted Seleucus had himself penetrated; and the Indian prince consenting to make some presents, Seleucus peaceably returned to Persia. We learn also, from the authority of Polybius, that subsequently to this period, the Indian princes still acknowledged some dependence on the Syrian kings; for it appears that on the passage of the Parapomisus, by Antiochus the Great, he renewed his alliance, on condition of receiving a stipulated tribute of elephants, with Sophagesines, the Jonah of Ferishtah, who, about two centuries before Sot, sat upon the imperial throne. The Macedonian princes of Bactria or Balba rose upon the ruin of the power of the Seleucidæ; who, engaged in perpetual hostility with their own countrymen, left

Strabo, Lib. XV.

Maurice's Mod. Hist. Hindost. Vol. I. p. 8. & Chapters III. IV. & V.

India to its fate. Their empire is said to have included not only the countries of the more modern kingdoms of Bhalk and Samarcand, but to have extended over the regions on each side the Indus to its junction with the ocean; and that Menander, one of its kings, carried his victorious arms to the Malabar coast, and even beyond the Ganges. But the Parthian empire, from an inconsiderable province, was now rising into eminence, founded by Arsaces, of Scythian origin, 250 years before Christ. Irritated by the encroachments and cruelties of the Bactrian princes, he drove the Macedonians from Parthia and Hyrcania; and extending his conquests westward, fixed his seat at Hecatompylos, supposed to have stood on the site of Ispahan, from whence his successors soon spread their conquests from the Euphrates to the Indian Caucasus. Mithridates, the greatest of the Arsacidæ, and the brave defender of his kingdom against the Romans, pursuing the career of his predecessors, conquered from the Bactrian and Avian princes all the provinces they held in Upper Hindostan, and on each shore of the Indus, and annexed them to his own mighty empire. From the accounts we have received of the wealth and resources of the Bactrian and Parthian kings, it is probable that India, to the west of the Ganges, was never entirely free from their controul. Alexander had opened the prospect of the treasures of this rich country; and his successors had too much occasion for its wealth, to suffer it to remain independent of their influence.

Vide Strabo, Lib. II. Rennel's Mem. M. H. p. 200.

B. C. 126.

As the Bactrian had sunk before the fortunes of the Parthian princes, so the Persian succeeded to its glories. A new dynasty arose in Persia, under the name of Sassanidæ; who, eager to profit by the wealth enjoyed by their successors, waged an almost continual war with the western provinces of India, and compelled their princes to pay a considerable tribute to their empire.

If, however, the contentions between these rival princes fell heavily upon the eastern provinces, their power and disciplined armies served at least to keep in check a more formidable enemy. Nor until the

decline of their power, do we find that the Tartars or Scythians had yet been able to make any considerable impression upon the Indian frontiers. But with the declining power of the Persian, the Tartars, no longer restrained, bursting from their inhospitable wilds, which stretch by the mountains of Thibet and China, extend from the Euxine and Caspian Seas, to the seas of Corea Kamshatka, and the Frozen Ocean; poured like a deluge upon the northern provinces; and subverted the empire of the Bactrian kings; and, with the same facility with which they had formerly desolated the plains of Media, passed the barriers of the Paropamisus or Indian Caucasus, and penetrated into the fertile plains of India by the river Hydaspes. Hod. Behut or Chelum.

That the Tartars had made an early impression upon the south, as well as the northern provinces of Hindostan, even before the irruptions of the house of Timur, may be proved, in some degree, by the great mixture of Tartar manners and customs, which diligent observers have discovered to be interwoven in the civil and religious institutions of India; for the date of the invasion is so remote, as to allow of this mixture before the full establishment of all the wise and various laws by which that empire was regulated. Maurice Hindostan.

That such incursions had long taken place, we have indeed no reason to doubt; for Cosmas Indicopleustes, at an early period, speaks of the Huns as inhabiting northern Asia. And these barbarians, together with the Massagetæ, Getæ or Goths *, seem gradually to have advanced from their ancient limits into the more fertile districts of Asia, and to have settled in the provinces bordering on the Indus, thence called Indo-Scythia.

In the seventh century the Persian empire, from the recent defeats of Chosroes by Heraclius, and the troubles which ensued

* The present Jauts, says Mr. Maurice, M. H. H. are probably derived from the Goths.

from the cruel reign and subsequent assassination of the tyrant, was rapidly hastening to its ruin; Bactria, Cabul, Candahar, and the western provinces of India, already under the controul of the Tartar tribes, ceased to pay their tribute, and renounced altogether their allegiance to the Persian empire.

Excepting these, and the probable successes of the warlike nations, who had possessed themselves of the countries which formerly constituted the fairest portion of the Persian empire, the only notices we can receive must be derived from the doubtful sources of Mahomedan and Persian histories, or the legendary tales of Sanscreet literature *. Occasional ambassadors, as in the age of Augustus and Claudius, may indeed have been sent from the Indian court, to congratulate a warlike and politic prince; but during the long period that Rome held the sovereignty of the world, her arms never passed that mountainous frontier, which Providence seems to have placed, as a security to an innocent and industrious people, against the force and ravages of her less polished neighbours.

Such was the probable state of the East, when the craft or the ambition of Mahomed had disclosed a new code of religion to the rude and unenlightened Arabs; the propagation of the faith, become an article of eternal happiness, was a stimulus too powerful to be resisted by his ignorant votaries. The warmth of imagination peculiar to an eastern climate, assisted by the enthusiasm excited by prospects ill understood, soon impelled them with an invincible force beyond the boundaries of their native rocks and deserts; and the Koran every where triumphed over the rude notions of paganism, or the corrupted creeds of christianity.

Having defeated the Persians, the Arabians did not long delay to

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Vincent's Perip. p. 19.

* Sanscrit is derived by Paolino, an Italian missionary at Travancore, from Sans-Crda-Lingua perfecta, or Krda-perfecta; and Sans-smul, coeval with creation.

carry their arms into Northern Asia. The riches of Bactriana and Sogdiana still rose amidst the confusions that prevailed; the great marts of the commerce carried on by the Oxus and the Iaxartes between Europe and the East, tempted their cupidity; and the imperative law, which commanded them to increase the votaries of the Koran, inspired their ardent zeal with the hope of success. Bokhara, Samarcand, and Charasm, were then the thronged resorts of the richest merchants of the earth: the Arab generals soon subdued them to the power of the crescent; and the Turkish Khans, surprised and discomfited, were either compelled to fly into Tartary, or to submit to the laws dictated by the conqueror.

See Gibbon's Rom. Empire, Vol. IV. p. 231. & Chap. xlii.

A. D. 707.

During the bright era of the Caliphate, their armies, victorious in the other quarters of the world, seem not to have penetrated far into Western India. Having acquired the bordering provinces of Asia, war for a time ceased; and the rich commodities of the East were furnished by the peaceful merchant.

As the Caliphate power declined, and the Arabians grew dissolute with the luxuries of Asia, the caliphs had recourse to a more hardy soldiery; the Turkish hordes were brave and active, and large bodies of them were therefore enlisted into the service of the state; who, though they protected it from foreign invasion, served also to introduce all the miseries of disorder and licentiousness. The Turkish Khans became the lords of the capital: the Caliph held only under their authority. The distant provinces, as the reins of empire relaxed, seized every favourable opportunity of shaking off the yoke, and a succession of brave and adventurous chieftains wrested its fairest possessions from the empire of Bagdad.

In 940, Korasan, and the countries lying between the Oxus and Iaxartes, arose into an independent kingdom, under the princes of the Samanian dynasty, who fixed their capital at Bokhara. Unable, however, to cope with the yet dreaded power of the Caliphate, their attention was turned towards India, and the country of the modern

Afghans soon submitted to their arms. But in the disturbed state of the times, and the competition of so many rival chieftains, the duration of power was only transient. The Samanian soon merged in the empire of Gazna. The valour of Subactagi triumphed over
977. the forces of his sovereign; and Gazna became the capital of that dynasty, which, under his son Mahomed, carried their victorious arms to the very extremities of Hindostan.

About the eighth century, the mountains of Solomon, which are situated between Moultan and Candahar, were inhabited by Afghans;
Sir William Jones. a race said to have been descended from the Cibthi or Copts—the subjects of Pharoah—who being expelled from Egypt in the time of Moses, took up their residence in these mountains. This hardy race was at first employed in agriculture and pasturage, until at last joined by some chieftains, who had fled with their families from the power of the bordering princes, they became formidable to the Indian Rajahs; who, unable to subdue them, courted their alliance, and appointed them the guardians of the frontier, against any incursions by the way of Iran. Distinguished by an activity of character, and addicted to a predatory life, they long opposed a formidable barrier to their Mahomedan neighbours; but being at length induced to embrace the Koran, after having sustained many severe encounters with Subactagi and other princes of the house of Ghizni or Gazna *, the Afghans joined their arms with the invaders of India.

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* Gazna, from having been only a fief or province of the empire of Bokhara, became the capital of a powerful kingdom, comprehending Korasan and the adjoining countries, together with Cabul, and Candahar, the gates of India towards Persia and Tartary. *Cabul* is situated at the foot of the Indian Caucasus towards Tartary, as *Candahar* is towards Iran or Persia. According to the Indian account, no man can be called the Ruler of India who has not taken possession of these cities. Candahar
Rennel's Mem. Hindostan. Sir W. Jones. is allowed to be the Paropamisan Alexandria, whence Alexander directed his march northward into Bactria and Sogdiana, in the modern countries of Balk, Bocharia, and Samarcand; and to this city he returned previous to his Indian expedition.

The empire of Hindostan was at this time convulsed with intestine troubles; the people were enervated, and no regular monarch was seated on the throne. Canonge, Delhi, Lahore, Malawar, and the Guzzurat, were all governed by separate and independent Rajahs; who, though they had occasionally joined their forces to oppose the march of an invader, had now no longer any common point of union, and made therefore but a weak stand against the impetuous career of a brave and active enemy.

In the 10th century, Mahmoud, the prince of Gazna, passed the frontier mountains, and crossing the Indus at Attock *, the Taxilla of Alexander, where the mountainous country from the north-east terminates, and the plains of the Panjab begin, he carried fire and sword through its most fertile districts, massacring all the inhabitants as idolators, who would not acknowledge the Koran; and after extending his furious route through the Guzzurat to the kingdom of Visiapoor, he returned to his capital laden with spoils, and sated with slaughter. A. D. 997 to 1028.

Moultan and Delhi were conquered by himself and his successor, and the face of India was desolated by their repeated invasions. In the ten several expeditions of Mahmoud into Hindostan, he traversed the extent of India from the Paropamisan mountains to the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna, from Moultan and Aginere to the shores of the Ocean and the Temple of Sumnaut. The confederated Rajahs in vain opposed his progress; nor indeed would they have dared so frequently to resist his arms, but from the intolerance he had shewn to their religious prejudices. The Temple of Sumnaut was levelled to the dust; their sacred priests were murdered in cold blood; their

* The Attock was the crossing place of Alexander and Tamerlane. It is the natural western barrier of India, near whose banks Porus awaited the approach of the Macedonian hero, and where the effeminate Mahomed should have stood in person to arrest the progress of Nadir Shah.

most revered altars profaned:—the ruins of Naugrauet, Tannasar, and Mathura; the plunder of Delhi, Canonge, and Lahore, called forth the avenging spirit of the people; and under the dreaded names of Veeshni and Creeshna, their zeal was roused into madness, though ineffectually directed against the oppressors of their country.

At the death of Mahmoud, the disputes amongst his successors preserved India from new calamities. The principal Rajahs rose in arms to re-assert their rights, and recovered many of the possessions which they had lost to the house of Gazna. This respite was, however, only short. The Gaznevide princes had nourished a viper in their bosom; and the Seljukian Turks were rising to their honours. This new power had arisen into notice under Togrul Beg, the Tangrolopix of the Greek writers, who, professing a nominal obedience to the Caliphate and his successors, had extended their conquests from the borders of Thibet to the distant shores of Rum or Anatolia. In the contest for sovereignty, the Gaznevide princes shrunk before the power of their rivals, and were compelled to relinquish a large portion of the territories which had formed their ancient empire. Driven from northern Persia, their attention was drawn to India, where they expected a less formidable rival, and a richer plunder. The temples and cities were again plundered by their armies; and Lahore, as being farther from the power of their Turkish enemies, became the favourite residence of their Sultans.

Knolles's Hist. Turks, p. 4. A. D. 1030.

In 1184, a new dynasty arose upon that of Gazna; their empire was wrested from them by the princes of Gaur *: and the distant provinces, sharing the fate of the capital, were seized upon by the Gauride Sultan, and consigned to the charge of his faithful dependants.

1158 to 1184. Rennel's Mem. Mod. Hindos. p. 47.

The power, however, of the Gaurian empire fell as rapidly as it

* Gaur, a province and city bordering on the Paropamisan.

had arisen; the age was fruitful in bold adventures; and revolutions followed so rapidly, that the historian can do little more than record their names to posterity. A weak prince succeeding to the martial reign of Mahomed Gauri, the Prince of Charasm, a new principality, endowed with the spoils of the Seljukian emperors, took advantage of the imbecile counsels of his rival; and urged also by the memory of ancient injuries, marched an army against him, and annexed to his empire the ruins of what was once the dominion of Gazna and Gaur.

The splendours of the Charasnian dynasty, their immense armies, and abundant wealth, seemed to have placed their empire beyond the reach of decay. But the mighty torrent which had swept the plains of China, now rolled towards Western Asia. The various hordes which wandered from the banks of the Volga to the extremities of Asia, were now combined under the vigorous arm of Zengis Khan; and the Charasnian prince was doomed to feel the heavy weight of brutal force, exerted with unfeeling rapacity.

Never had the Mahomedans suffered so severe a check; the mighty Zenghis not only defeated their armies, rased their fairest cities, and defied their united power; but adding insult to injury, presumed to trample upon their most sacred rites, polluted their mosques at the capture of Bokhara, and threw their sacred Koran at his horse's feet.

Zenghis called himself an avenger sent by the Most High, to punish their prince's crimes and their own. The Charasnian monarch, thus unable to cope with the conqueror, sought a precarious shelter on a desert island of the Caspian Sea. Still persecuted by the Moguls, the brave but unfortunate prince sunk under the accumulated weight of his distresses, and closed his life in poverty and wretchedness. He, who but a few months before had commanded armies, and ruled over a rich and flourishing empire, was now a fugitive in a distant corner of his own dominions. "Of all my immense empire,"

says the dying prince, "are only a few cubits left for the interment of my lifeless body. How uncertain an abode is this transient world! how fleeting is life—how darkened by misfortunes all its brightest prospects!"

Maurice's Mod. Hist. Hindost. Vol. I. p. 385.

Whatever may have been the fate of Hindostan during the contests between the Gaznian, Gaurian, and Charasnian dynasties, except in the province of Lahore, which was incorporated with their empire, the conquests made by the several princes seemed to have been more from the desire of plunder, than the wish or the design of annexing so large a tract of country to their own dominions. Tribute was indeed enforced from the conquered provinces, and armies appear to have been prepared to enforce its payment. The principal power resided in the Kings of Canonge and Delhi; the other Rajahs paid only a nominal obedience to, or endeavoured to render themselves altogether independent of, their authority. The Gaurian princes, in particular, had entrusted their power, over the parts of the empire subject to their sway, to their favourites and slaves, and the sovereignty became, in the troubles which succeeded, the prize of the strongest; for the superior was no longer able to enforce the obedience of his vassal, or was induced through the hope of plunder to participate in the usurpation; and the crown passing into the hands of the Afghans or Patans *, or other princes of Mahomedan extraction, seems never more to have reverted to its native princes.

Or *Pitans*.

Amidst these contests for sovereignty, the ancient laws of India were disregarded; and each petty chieftain of a district, setting up his own claim, wrested from the empire some of its fairest possessions. By a succession of invasions from the northern provinces, as the rich-

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Sir W. Jones. Rennel.

* The word Patan is derived from the Sanscrit, Pailna *to rush*. The term is applied rather in a loose manner to all the tribes bordering on the common frontiers of India, Persia, and the province of Balk, in the ancient province of Paropamisus.

ness and fertility of the country became better known to these barbarians, who inhabited the tract of ancient Scythia, the whole face of India seems to have materially changed.

The Afghan princes, whose dynasty began in 1205, under Cuttub or Cothbeddin, an Afghan slave, and whose capital was Delhi, appear also to have employed in their armies many of the fierce invaders whom they had subdued in battle, as men possessing more physical strength than the natives, and equally interested with themselves, in maintaining an empire recently acquired by conquest. Soldiers of fortune, from Persia and Tartary, were also ever ready to march under the Imperial banners; and had the people been only united in themselves, and attached to their sovereign, the invasion of India, though it still held out high advantages, would have been attended with difficulties sufficient to defeat or deter it.

India was thus a prey to intestine divisions, when Zenghis Khan, having now wholly subdued the kingdom of Charasm, and the greatest part of Upper Asia, turned his victorious army towards India. Gelaleddin had succeeded in 1220 to the faded honours of his father; Charasm was lost to him, and he had fled beyond the Paropamisus, in the hope either of retrieving the fortunes of his family, or of escaping the career of the conqueror. A gleam of hope encouraged him in his first opposition to the Moguls; but it seemed afforded only to render his future degradation the more poignant. Aided by the united troops of the Indian Rajahs, who supported his cause, and the Afghan chiefs, who now ruled over Delhi and its subject dominions, he met Zenghis on the western frontier. The battle was at first bravely contested, and the Charasnian Prince exerted all the spirit and energy of a sovereign and a general, who fought for the prize of a mighty empire. The Moguls were at length victorious; and Gelaleddin, escaping from the wreck of his discomfited army, found his safety in swimming the Indus, in the sight of Zenghis and his assembled nobles.

Orme's Hindostan, p. 11.

A. D. 1221

Zenghis did not, however, prosecute the victory he had obtained by further conquests on the country. The banks of the Indus were the boundary of his dominion; and he returned to Western Asia, to reap new laurels from the princes who had not yet acknowledged the Tartar yoke.

At his death the Tartar chieftains were employed in extending the boundaries of their empire in the two extremities of Asia. But India, though it had escaped the subjection of this conqueror, was doomed to undergo still farther miseries. The Moguls, under separate and independent chieftains, tempted with the loss of plunder, still harassed the country with repeated incursions; and the ruling princes, finding the hardy enemy with whom they had to contend, seemed to have made with them a compromise, by admitting them to rank and honours, by enrolling them into their armies, and thus barring the progress of future invaders. In one instance, indeed, a tribe of Zagatay Tartars was more successful; the western provinces were overrun, and Delhi was laid under a heavy contribution: but the effect was only transient; the same intestine misery still, however, prevailed in Hindostan. The Afghan and Mogul chieftains, who, from their superior conduct, had excited the notice of the sovereigns, and been raised to high commands, disposed, at their pleasure, of the vacant throne. The Chilligi Afghans were not the least conspicuous in the tribe of adventurers; they inhabited the mountains between Gaur and Ghergistan, and gave sovereigns to the throne of Delhi.

From the accession of Cuttub, 1205, to Tamerlane's invasion in 1398, the empire seems to have been generally a prey to these calamities. The throne, and the access to it, was, in most cases, stained with blood; and the people groaned under the intolerable weight of the oppression of their government at home, and the terrors of foreign invasion. Commerce and the peaceful arts were discouraged, the revenues anticipated, and the industrious husbandmen and the

peaceful mechanic fled to the woods for shelter, or joined the standards of any popular chief. During this state of unjust domination, the throne was principally supported by plundering those Hindu chieftains, who had hitherto escaped the ravages both of foreign and domestic enemies. Maurice, Mod. Hist. Hindost. Vol. I. p. 480.

Yet, even in this state of anarchy, it appears that the Rajpoots of Guzzurat and Malwa were ever hostile to the Afghan yoke; that the king of the Decan, whose capital was Diogur, or *Dowlatabad* *, was still an independent sovereign; and, though his dominions were frequently ravaged, he was still enabled to keep the field against the national enemies of his country. Some of the most southern provinces had also revolted; and though a tribute was exacted from the most refractory, the dominion of Delhi over the peninsula depended more upon the terror of a name, than any respect to the sovereign power.

In the beginning of the fourteenth century, Bengal and other great provinces had renounced all dependence upon the titular emperor, and erected their dominions into independent sovereignties; the country was altogether convulsed, and all subordination destroyed; when Timur, having conquered the countries between his native 1398.
kingdoms of Mavor-ul-mere, or Transoxiana, and the provinces of Cabul, Zabulistan †, and others, towards the Indus, and extended his ravages through the whole of Western Asia, and the very heart of Russia, tempted by the reports of the distracted state of India, and invited by the Mogul captains, who were contending for the sove-

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* Delhi was depopulated in favour of Dowlatabad, which had at one time yielded to the arms of the Afghans. A new city was afterwards built, adjoining to Delhi, and called, from the Emperor, Jeroscabad, A. D. 1357.

† Zabulistan, so called from Zabul, one of the ancient names of Gazna, the ancient capital of the country.

reignty of the country, bent his destroying hordes towards the Indus.

Timur marched for India, from the centre of the Caucasus. His army crossed the Panjab; and having effected a junction with his nephew Peer Mahomed, who was then besieging Moultan, he marched forward, plundered Delhi, and extended his merciless ravages beyond the eastern banks of the Ganges*, probably as far as Loldong, or Hurdwar, at the foot of the Sewalick Mountains.

Rennel.

The rage of conquest now abated, the victorious Tartar returned by Cabul to Samarcand; nor does it appear that he appointed any king to govern the country, which he had in a great measure subdued. The several Princes and Rajahs who had submitted on his march, or assisted him in his invasion, were continued in their respective governments; and though a viceroy was appointed for Lahore, Moultan, and Daibulpoor, and the coin was struck in his name, no other material changes followed from a revolution which so lately seemed to threaten the empire with universal ruin.

During the life of Timur, the terror of his arms quieted the factions which had disputed the succession to the crown; but his death was no sooner known, than the tribute annually sent to Samarcand was either tardily remitted, or altogether withdrawn; and the dependence professed by the governors of the provinces became merely nominal. These bold measures were unnoticed through the divisions of the family of Timur, about the right of sovereignty to his vast dominions. But this interval of relaxation

1405.

Rennel, M. M. Hindostan, p. 233.

* The Ganges escapes from the mountains at Hurdwar, after having wandered 800 British miles: the remainder of its course to the sea is 1350 miles, in a smooth navigable stream, through delightful plains. The Sewalick mountains, under which Hurdwar is situated, are that chain that borders the level country, on the north of the province of Delhi. Himmaleh, or the ridge of Imaus, is seen from the plains of Hindostan, towering above the Sewalick mountains, covered with snow.

from foreign conquest brought little accession of peace to the Indian empire; and the throne was again usurped, as each party could gain the superiority by the sword. The princes and governors, no longer fearing either a foreign master or a domestic sovereign, assumed the title and dignity of independent kings; and all that remained to the Emperor who sat on the throne, was the capital, and a few districts in its immediate neighbourhood. The ancient Imperial families were extinct; and the race of kings who enjoyed the nominal sovereignty, held it by usurpation, or had been promoted to it by the precarious favour of the disaffected Omrahs: the royal dignity was even prostituted to Turkish slaves, and murder and the blackest perfidy became the safest roads to empire. Dow's Hindost. Vol. I. p. 118.

But if the obedience paid to the house of Timur was merely nominal, it does not appear that the Indian sovereigns, until the year 1497, held themselves altogether independent of its power. The Patan empire was not indeed entirely overthrown until the year 1525-6*; when Baber, expelled from his own territories, by the incursions of the Usbeg Tartars, was induced, by the counsels of Ranguildas, the governor of Cabul, to forego his title to the throne of Samarcand, and to lay claim to that of Delhi, by right of descent from the house of Timur. But his pretences were grounded upon a better title than that of family alliance or descent; by his victory over Ibrahim Loudi, the last Patan emperor of Delhi. The state of Hindostan seems to have been then more tranquil, and Ibrahim was supported in his last struggle for empire by all the forces of his Patan subjects; but the contest was unequal, and the valour of the Moguls prevailed: yet, though the Patans were, in many Orme's Hind. Vol. I. p. 17.

* Tamerlane had appointed no regular king to govern Hindostan, but had left its administration to the Soubahdar of Moultan and its dependencies, who founded, after his death, a new dynasty of Patan kings of Delhi. To overawe the distant provinces, Timur had, however, left a numerous garrison at Gazna and Candahar.

encounters, defeated, such was their aversion to the Mogul power, that they still resisted it with various success; and even after repeated losses and severe discomfitures, still continued in arms.

What contributed most effectually to the success of Baber, independent of the spirit and prowess of his Tartar and Persian troops, was the degeneracy of the Patans, enervated by wealth and luxury, and dead to every principle of virtue and honour, which their corrupt factions and civil discords had totally effaced. "It was now no "shame to fly, no infamy to betray, no breach of honour to mur- "der, and no scandal to change parties: to her, therefore, the fear "of shame, and the love of fame were gone; it was no wonder that "a land without unanimity, order, or discipline, should fall into "the hands of a few brave men. This is the general tendency of "wealth in all governments, if the reins are not held fast, the laws "punctually executed, and the progress of corruption checked, "both by public and private economy."

Dow's Hindost. Vol. I. p. 113.

Thus a fugitive prince had the honour of laying the foundation of that kingdom which, under the name of the Mogul empire, seemed to promise, from the virtues and mild administration of its early princes, some respite to the calamities and oppression of the people, and some stability to the government.

Homaion, the son of Baber, enjoyed the dominions of his father but a short time, when his Patan subjects rose in revolt, and compelled him, after a variety of hardships, to seek shelter at the Persian court. Here, however, he found a friend and protector; and returning into Hindostan with a considerable force, he not only subdued the prince whom the Patans had placed on the throne, but annexed to his dominions the kingdoms of Guzzurat, Malwa, and Bengal, and transmitted the crown to his son Akber in 1555.

Orme's Hind. p. 17.

The power of Delhi had been hitherto only partially acknowledged in the provinces bordering upon the Indian ocean. The greater part of the peninsula, from the Gulph of Cambaya, and

taking the interior line of the Nerbudda River, southward, to Jaggernaut, on the coast of Orissa, was formerly under the government of the Ram Rajah, or Emperor of the Rajahs. This powerful empire, after the death of the last prince, was usurped by three* Patan slaves, who had been raised to power during the life of the Rajah; and being divided between them, formed the Mahomedan kingdoms of Visiapoor and Golconda, and the territories bordering on the Mahomedan states, subject to the Emperor of Delhi, from Dowlatabad, or Deogur†, in the Decan, to the River Nerbudda. Many other Rajahs, however, who derived their birth from the ancient Hindu princes of the country, and still preserved, unimpaired, the rites and customs of their ancestors, maintained, over very considerable tracts of country, an independent sovereignty, or acknowledged only the feudal jurisdiction of the Emperor; being secured from conquest by their distance from the capital, and the rugged nature of their country.

Bernier, de l'Etat d'Hindostan. Beatson, War in India, p. 229.

1565. Beatson. Grant's View of the Deccan.

If the victorious arms of Mahmoud, of Gazna, had penetrated as far as the Pagoda of Sumnaut, in the kingdom of Visiapoor, it was more from the rich prospect of plunder, than from any idea of settlement or conquest. The Patan sovereigns of Hindostan ruled only over a small part of the peninsula; it was sufficient for them to pre-

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* Tavernier says, by his four Mahomedan generals who formed the kingdoms of Golconda, Visiapor, Dowlatabad, and Brampour. Part II. Book I. In the reign of Akber, the Mogul territories, says the same author, did not extend further than the Nerbuddah; his successors, however, greatly reduced the power of these kingdoms.

† Deogur was the capital of the province of Dowlatabad. It was the seat of Hindu government as late as 1293, when it was taken by Ferouze II. It is now a ruin *near Ellore*, four cosses from Aurungabad, on the Godavery. The descendants of the Ram Rajah, driven from their patrimony, took refuge in the Carnatic; hence the Naicks, or Nairs, and other high military classes of that country, and of the Malabar coast.

Bernier, de l'Etat d'Hindostan.

serve the shadow of royalty in their own court, without attempting distant conquests, or affecting a dominion, which nothing but superior power or superior reputation could effectually secure.

Homaion had made some advances towards the reduction of these independent fiefs; but death arrested his victorious career. In the year 1555, Akber, one of the most gallant, virtuous, and enlightened princes that had ever sat upon the throne of Delhi, succeeded his father Homaion. Domestic faction was quelled, his right to the throne remained undisputed, the incursions of the barbarous hordes beyond the mountains of Cabul and Candahar were checked; his power and his efforts were, therefore, successfully directed to the security and comfort of his subjects, and the extension of his dominions towards the south.

As the foreigners settled in India did not amount to more than a tenth part of the population of the country, it had ever been the policy of the Mogul princes to leave the government of the southern provinces in the hands of the native Princes or Rajahs in whose territories the Hindu manners and customs had received the slightest alteration from time and the accidents of war. These Princes held their estates in the nature of fiefs to the crown, paying, however, a certain fixed tribute, and portioning their lands amongst their retainers, on the conditions of military service. But as the tribute was not always regularly paid, and the allegiance of the Rajahs in the remote provinces was at all times precarious, a standing army was necessary to enforce it; hence the place of Nabob, Viceroy, or General of this army, as it was the most important office in the gift of the crown, was generally occupied by one of the Royal Family, or by one of the most tried and faithful of the Omrahs.

Akber, by his enlightened policy and conciliating measures, made a considerable progress towards the reduction of these provinces; " but not so far to the southward, as to prevent him from vouchsaf- " ing to stile the King of Portugal, his neighbour, in virtue of the

* Orme's Hind. Vol. I. p. 18.

" territories possessed by this nation near Goa, on the Coast of " Malabar." Guzzurat, and a large part of the Decan, submitted to his arms; but these important conquests, instead of proving of essential benefit to the empire, served only as strong holds to shelter the disaffected, and foment the family quarrels which disturbed the reign of his immediate successors.

It remained for the restless and persevering spirit of Aurungzebe, the third in descent from Akber*, to advance the conquests in the peninsula far beyond the bounds of any of his predecessors; his arms were every where successful, and the rebellious Rajahs were either subdued, or professed submission to a power, which they could no longer openly oppose with any prospect of success. The kingdoms of Visiapoor and Golconda were compelled to avow a nominal dependance on the empire, and were checked from revolt by the memory of former defeats, or the judicious disposition of the Imperial forces; and even Sevagee, the intrepid founder of the Mahratta state, though he had pillaged Surat, plundered many of the provinces with circumstances of peculiar audacity, and opposed considerable obstacles to the progress of the Imperial army, was at length compelled to observe a cautious policy, in order to escape the dangers which threatened him from the resentment of the emperor.

Aurungzebe was, however, the last of the Mogul princes whose power was either acknowledged, or whose arms could make any impression upon the southern provinces. He died in the year 1707; nor could all his abilities and crimes secure to his children the quiet

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* Akber died in 1605, after reigning 50 years, and was succeeded by his son Ichanguer, who died in 1627. Shah Gehaun succeeded to his father Ichanguer, and was deposed by his son Aurungzebe. In the reign of Gehaun, 1625, a new Delhi was built, called also, from this prince, Gehaun-abad, or the colony of Gehaun. Ancient Delhi is now only a suburb.

possession of that sceptre, which he had gained by the deposition and imprisonment of his father, and the blood of his nearest relatives*. His death was the signal of confusion, and the right to the crown was again disputed with the sword: a weak prince was, indeed, suffered to preserve the shadow of royalty; but the real power of the crown was vested in the hands of the factious Omrahs. The blood of Tamerlane was, however, still respected; and perhaps it would have been dangerous to remove a delusion, which was yet sacred in the eyes of the people. Thus a sovereign, whose dominion was nearly confined to his palace, his women, and his eunuchs, was saluted with the title of King of Kings, and proclaimed the Ruler of a people, whom he was only permitted to see, when seated on the Musnud on the day of his inauguration. The weak state of the government, consequent on the degradation of the sovereign, led only to fresh troubles at home, and tempted new enemies from abroad.

What has been observed of the degeneracy of the Patans, at the invasion of Baber, may be applied, with equal justice, to the Moguls at this period. It is asserted, that "the Mohamedans of the "third generation established in India acquire the same pusillani- "mity and indolence which distinguish the original inhabitants of "the country, and at the same time a cruelty of character, to which the "Indians are at present strangers; but to which they were probably "addicted before the institutions of Brahma had forbidden the "shedding of blood." The Moguls retained nothing of those hardy manners which they had brought from the mountains and plains of Tartary; "enervated by the softness of the climate, and

Dow's Hindostan.

Orme's Hindostan.

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* Bernier has endeavoured to draw a veil over the crimes of this prince, by pleading the wretched measures of oriental policy, the indeterminate right of succession to the throne, and the laws of self-preservation.

De l'Etat d'Hindost.

" the refinements of a preposterous luxury, all their pleasures and " their very existence passed away in the midst of the perfumes and " the dalliance of the seraglio."

In the midst of the disorders which manifested the approaching fall of a mighty empire, Thamas Kouli Khan, called also Nadir* Shah, having taken ample vengeance upon the Afghans, who, during the unsettled state of the empire, had desolated the Persian Provinces, turned his attention to new conquests. Either irritated by some disrespect shewn to his ambassador, or excited by the lure of plunder, and the invitations of the factious nobles, he entered India in 1738, by the same route which had been so successfully traversed by former invaders. The militias of India were dispersed without resistance; the forces of Delhi were easily subdued; an immense booty gratified the avarice, and a dreadful slaughter sated the cruelty, of the ferocious conqueror: but the weak and cowardly Mahmoud, after throwing his regalia at the feet of the indignant Persian, was restored to his crown; and Nadir, reserving only to himself the countries lying to the west of the Indus and the Attock, Cabul, Peishore, Candahar, Ghizni, Moultan, and Sind, returned to Persia, where some revolts required his immediate presence.

The assassination of Nadir Shah, whose genius and military talents had rescued the Persian provinces from the cruel yoke of the Afghans, once more involved India in all the horrors of a civil war, and again laid it open to new invasions. Ahmed Shah, called Abdallah, as being of the tribe of Abdalli Afghans, was a commander in the Persian army, at the death of Nadir. The confusions which arose upon this event, and the possession of his master's treasures, gave a colour to his ambition; and he boldly seized upon that part of the territories which Nadir had re-annexed to the Persian crown.

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* Nadir, or Wonderful. See Nadir's Life, translated by Sir William Jones, and Hanway's Travels.

This empire extended in length, from east to west, not less than 650 Bengal miles, and comprehended nearly the same districts which had formed the empire of Ghizni, and the Sultauny of Baber. The plunder of the Indian capital was too rich a prize to escape the attention of Abdallah; but his progress was powerfully and gallantly opposed by the Seiks, whose active cavalry hung upon his rear, and cut off his resources*. In defiance of these obstacles, Abdallah still pursued his cruel and victorious march; and having reached Delhi in safety, the city was again pillaged, and the empire once more laid under contribution. Had the lust of sovereignty been as much the object of Abdallah's mind, as the desire of gratifying his needy followers, he might, in all probability, have easily secured to himself the throne of Delhi; and as the founder of a new dynasty, have restored the splendour of the empire.

See Appendix, Seiks.

But the miseries which overwhelmed this fertile country, were not solely inflicted by the forces and incursions of Abdallah †. The Mahrattas, a people now rising into eminence, as an independent power, were either descendants of the ancient Malli (whose modern capital is Moultan) who resisted valiantly, but unsuccessfully, the forces of Alexander Mahmoud, and the Patan and Mogul Emperors; or they derived their origin and consequence from the Rajah Poots, the Katheri,—Katheri of Arrian and Diodorus Siculus, who, like the

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* For the origin, religion, and power of this people, see Appendix.

† The present Afghans are chiefly of the Sonni sect; and therefore hold the Persians, who are Shiites, in inveterate hatred. They inhabit or rule over that tract of country which is between the Attock and the Caspian Sea. Their appearance is distinct from that of the Tartar race: they live by pasturing their flocks in the neighbouring plains and mountains: they are robust, hardy, cruel, and perfidious, addicted to a predatory warfare, and avowing a fixed contempt for the occupations of civil life. Their present prince is Zemaun Shaw, a descendant of Abdallah. Their territories towards India are bounded by the new and warlike tribe of the Seiks, with whom they live in a state of continual hostilities.

Foster's Travels.

Kajar tribe of the Persian provinces of Mazandaran and Astrabad, are usually devoted to the profession of arms. Their prince was called the Rana; he claimed his descent from Porus; and his capital in the ancient days of his greatness was *Cheitore*. Amidst the narrow passes and mountains, and close vallies of Aginere, "whose "Soubah included a most extensive district," the Raja-poots were enabled to preserve their independence, their national manners, and religious customs; and, though often defeated, they have never been subdued.

Rennel, Mem. Mod. Hindos. Or *Oudipour*. * Ayeen Akbery.

From Mahmoud to Aurungzebe, the Indian conquerors were contented with the nominal allegiance of these hardy tribes, whose military enthusiasm was grafted on religious principles, and supported by natural strength and agility of body. Some of their fortresses were indeed taken; "but the spirits of independent nations do not reside "in fortresses; nor are they to be conquered with them."

Vide Alcæus apud Aristid. Gillies's Greece, Ch. X. p. 465.

But whatever may have been their ancient power and origin, Sevagee *, in 1678, laid the foundation of the present Mahratta state, the distinctive feature of whose government, as described in a recent treatise, is, "that the empire always considers itself in a state of "predatory or vindictive hostility; war is their end and general "system; and peace, the delight of the wise, has with them no at-"traction:" They will furnish mercenary troops for either side, with equal fickleness, as impelled by higher prospects of advantage, and in all their incursions plunder is their great and ultimate object.

Rennel's Hindos. p. 153. Dallas's Vind. Lord Welles. p. 58. Orme's Hindos. Vol. I. p. 40. Raynal's India. Dow's Hindos.

Before the Carnatic † had submitted to the arms of the Mogul, the

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* Sevagee was descended from the Rana of Oudipour, the chief of the Rajpoot princes. The Rajpoot principalities have been long held tributary to the Mahrattas. The Mahrattas are derived from one of these Rajpoot tribes.

Márhát was the name of a province in the Decan, comprehending Baglana near Surat, and other districts.

† The Carnatic was the name for the Peninsula in general, and included all the country that lay to the eastward of the Ghauts, and to the south of the River Kistna. Rennel. Mem. Mod. Hindos. p. 212.

Mahrattas possessed in it several fortresses, in lieu of which they
The *Choul.* stipulated to receive annually a portion of the revenues, as a tribute for desisting from their usual predatory incursions into the province.

After the death of Aurungzebe, who had greatly harassed them by the efforts of a thirty years war, the Mahrattas descended from their mountains, and rapidly recovered the territories from which he had expelled them. The Moguls were no longer able to check their ravages; and their power and numbers increasing with their success, they aspired to place a prince of Hindu extraction on the Musnud, contesting with Abdallah the disputed title to the crown. Scenes too shocking to describe followed from this pernicious rivalry; and the animosity of the contending parties was still farther heightened by religious prejudices.

The Mahrattas, assisted by the Jates *, a powerful tribe of Hindus, who, in the general convulsion of the state, had seized a large tract of territory, bordering on the western banks of the Jumna, and comprehending the strong holds of Deig, Corinbere, Bhurtpoor, and the city of Agra, placed a prince upon the throne.

But Abdallah had nominated another to this empty sovereignty; and being obliged to return to his dominions, had left him under the charge of the Rohillas, a tribe of Afghan or Patan race.

The Rohillas were supposed to have first come into Hindostan in 1720, as adventurers in quest of military service. Their appellation of Rohillas is said to be derived from Roh, an Afghan word, signify-

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* The Jates or Jautes are classed in the fourth or Sooder tribe of Hindus. They first migrated from the lower parts of the province of Moultan, towards the close of the reign of Aurungzebe, and settling on the banks of the Jumna, soon acquired notice by their plundering the travellers who passed through their country, thereby acquiring great riches. They seized upon different parts of the Duab, which they held by military service to the Mogul, the Rajah of Bhurtpoor, as he exceeded all other leaders in violence and riches, and possessed the greatest dominion.

ing hill or mountain; or from Roh, a province formerly of Cabul, where they had established the city of Peishore, and which is now the name of the whole district. They inhabited that country which lies between Delhi and Sirhind, to the eastward of the republic of the Seiks; and hence it was called by the name of Rohiland. The Rohillas, especially of the lower classes, were, but with few exceptions, the only sect of Mahomedans in India, who exercised the profession of husbandry; and their improvements in the various branches of agriculture were amply recompensed by the abundance and superior quality of the productions of their country. The Rohillas consisted of several independent tribes, but in any danger that threatened the state, they acted in concert; they were capable of bringing into the field a numerous and well-disciplined cavalry, and were distinguished by their mortal antipathy to the Mahratta powers. Foster's Trav. Vol. I. p. 120.

The Mahomedans, assisted by the Afghan forces, attacked the Mahrattas and their allies in the plains of Carnawl and Panniput*, and victory, for a long time valiantly disputed, at length declared in their favour. The bravest of the Mahratta generals, and the flower of their troops, perished in the field; and from that period, 1761, their power has been sensibly on the decline.

Had the Mahrattas prevailed in this battle, it is probable that the Mahomedan power in India would have been extinguished; but the dread of a sovereign of Hindu race being placed upon the throne of India, seems for a short time to have quieted the secret jealousies of the Mahomedan chiefs, and united their arms in a common cause.

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* Between Delhi and Sirhind are very extensive plains, within which are situated the towns of Carnawl and Panniput. In ancient and modern times these plains have been famous for great battles. It was the route by which the Afghan, Tartar, and Persian conquerors passed to Delhi, Agra, or Canouge, as each city was at any time the capital of India. It is also the classic ground of the Mahábárat, and sacred by the revered antiquities of Hindu worship. Rennel, M.M. Hindos. p. 71.

But the victory of Panniput proved of little benefit to the peace of the empire. The capital was still a prey to faction and rebellion—each petty chieftain renounced his allegiance at his pleasure; and inspired with the same views, Nizam-al-Moluck, the Viceroy or Soubahdar * of the Decan, and one of the most powerful Omrahs of the empire, permitted the Mahrattas, who had been lately awed by his power and reputation, to ravage the provinces over which he held a delegated authority.

Amidst these accumulated evils, the resources of government being interrupted, and the revenues ill paid, the armies could no longer be supported; and the emperor, surrounded by factious nobles, or intimidated by powerful chieftains, was compelled to permit the Mahrattas to continue their depredations, and even to acknowledge their claim to the Choul, or fourth part of the revenues of the southern provinces, which had been ceded to them by Aurungzebe on his conquest of the Decan.

Such respect was still, however, shewn to the descendants of Timur, that the rebellious governors received firmans on their knees, and professed to acknowledge them as their only legal warrants of investiture; though they did not hesitate even to forge these useless relics of imperial grandeur, when it was necessary to reconcile the scruples of their retainers, or to justify their claims to an exclusive sovereignty.

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* A Soubah is a province; hence the Viceroy is termed by Europeans the Soubahdar. Most of the countries of the Southern Peninsula conquered by the Moguls, were comprised under one viceroyalty, called from its situation the Decan or South.

Nizam is synonymous with Vicéroy or Soubahdar. Nawâb or Nabob was a title of honour always conferred on the Soubahdar, sometimes on the Omrahs or nobles. The Soubahdar was always removeable at pleasure, his office being entirely dependent. The Soubahdar had no controul over the revenues, which office was administered independently by the Dewan, (an officer accountable only to the Mogul).

The example of the Nabob was soon communicated to his immediate dependants; nor were his commands always better observed than the firmans of the Court. The Nabob also found his interest in fomenting the discontents of the distant Rajahs and Polygars *; and each, as opportunity offered, refusing any longer to conform to the conditions stipulated by their ancestors at the time of the conquest, made their dignity hereditary, and indulged in what inroads they pleased upon their defenceless neighbours.

Thus did the regard, the prejudices of ancient fears and habits, insensibly wear away; "thus were public and domestic peace rent "asunder. Villainy was practised in every form; all law and re- "ligion were trodden under foot; the bands of private friendship "and connection, as well of society as of government, were broken, "and every individual, as if amidst a forest of wild beasts, could "rely upon nothing but the strength of his own arm." "Thus," says Mr. Orme, anticipating as it were the future triumphs of the British arms, "the interest of the Indian princes, and Moorish go- "vernors, perpetually clashing with one another, and with the in- "terest of the Mogul, will perhaps always prevent the empire of "Hindostan from coercing the ambitious attempts of any powerful "European nation, when not opposed by another of equal force, "much less will any particular principality of India be able to with- "stand such an invader."

Dow's Hindos. Vol. II. p. 57.

Orme's Hindos. Vol. I. p. 373.

* The Polygars are always understood to be the chieftains of any mountainous, or woody districts.

CHAP. IX.

WARS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN THE DECAN.

Such was the situation of the country, when the forces of France and England carried their spirit of rivalry to the shores of Asia.

After the death of Nizam-al-Moluck, the late Nabob of the Decan, the influence of whose power and abilities had in some measure preserved the Carnatic from experiencing the same calamities which had afflicted the other provinces of the empire, a dispute arose between the Moorish princes of his family, about the succession to his ample dignities; and each party, disregarding the opinion of the court, prepared to assert the justice of his claim by an appeal to arms.

Though the war declared between Great Britain and France, in 1744, had extended its operations to the settlements of the two nations in India, yet peace was soon restored to them by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle in 1748. The Europeans had hitherto preserved their footing on the Coromandel coast, by their factories, which they had either purchased, or hired, on the payment of a certain ground-rent to the native princes; the lease being confirmed by the Nabobs, and ratified by the court of Delhi. The interior of the Carnatic was then little known, from the jealous policy of the Moorish governors, who were ever careful to prevent Europeans from gaining much information, or passing far beyond their own boundaries. Employed solely in commercial pursuits, they had observed with indifference the rapid changes of masters, and the disputes which involved the courts of the Pagan and Moorish princes;

and unless at any time their own interests were affected by these revolutions, or they were obliged in self-defence to arm against any sudden inroad at this period, "except a few vagabond Jesuits, of "the lowest cast and character, the Europeans knew as little of Ar- "cot as of Delhi." Orme's Hindos.

A century had elapsed since any of the European powers had gained any decisive advantages over the Moguls; and even the character of their former prowess served, in the decline of their affairs, as a protection against insult and aggression. The experience of former unsuccessful enterprises, and the scantiness of military talent which prevailed in all the colonies, from a long disuse of, or a total unacquaintance with, arms, kept alive the delusion, and persuaded them that the Moors were still a brave and formidable enemy. The French first dared to break the charm; and soon proved the inefficiency of numbers opposed to the steadiness and perseverance of military discipline. The wars between Davoust and Ali-Khan, the Nabob of Arcot, and the Mahrattas, had given to M. Dumas, the governor of Pondicherry, a degree of power and consequence hitherto unknown; and having protected the fugitive family of the Nabob, the French factory was converted into a fortification, and enriched by the donation of an extensive territory. M. Dupleix succeeded to the honours and power of Dumas in 1741; and an opportunity being now afforded for interfering in the settlement of the provinces, a pretext was not wanting to his ambitious spirit of gratifying those views of aggrandisement, which he had long in secret entertained, and which, by a fortunate coincidence of events, seemed to promise his country a new dominion in the heart of Asia. Convinced by the information he had received of the weakness of the Court of Delhi, and knowing that the Nabob's family would neither be able nor willing to dispute his pretensions, Dupleix was persuaded that it would be in his power to attain a commanding influence in the affairs of the peninsula, and possibly to manage them according to his own pleasure. It appears

to have been as much the idea of the French governor as of the French ministry; that as the manufactures of India, proper for the markets of Europe, "had from a long succession of importation of silver, "risen so much in price, and diminished so much in the goodness "of the fabric, that they afforded much less profit than in former "times; that the trade of Hindostan was therefore no longer de- "serving the attention of France, nor indeed of any other nation of "Europe; and that from the unwarlike character of the natives, "and the perpetual dissensions of their rulers, by joining some of "these competitors, more might be gained by conquest, than had "hitherto been derived from commerce."

Orme's Hindos. Vol. I. p. 120.

In the meantime the Moorish princes had variously intrigued with the two Presidencies of Madras and Pondicherry, who were induced to make engagements with that party, whose promises were the most liberal, or whose power and connections were the most likely to give efficacy to their claims. Though a peace at that time subsisted between the two powers in Europe, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, war was recommenced in Asia, between the two factories and their allies, with the most determined spirit. A new revolution in the government of the Decan, gave a still higher consequence to the

1750. French arms and influence; and the new Soubahdar, Murza-fa-Jing, the nephew of the late Viceroy, willing to gratify his allies, bestowed upon Chunda-saeb, the creature of Dupleix, the Nabobship of Arcot and its dependencies, the richest district of the Decan. By this appointment, it was stipulated that Chunda-saeb should hold this high dignity under the immediate authority of Dupleix, who was himself invested with the honour of a Nabob, and appointed governor of all the Mogul provinces, south of the river Kistna, throughout an extent of territory little inferior to the kingdom of France. It was also ordered, that no money should be current in the Carnatic, but what was coined at Pondicherry: the revenues of all the provinces of which Dupleix was vicegerent were submitted to his care; and regardless

of the threats or opinions of the Court of Delhi, which had not sanctioned his appointment, he was made accountable to none but the Soubahdar himself.

The general success which had hitherto attended his projects, inclined Dupleix to the adoption of schemes still more important to the interests of France; and he proposed to obtain a cession of Goa, the capital of the Portuguese "colonies, and with the assistance of M. "Bussy, whose army attended the person of the Nizam *, and "therefore influenced his counsels, to seize upon the triangular space "between Masulipatnam, Goa, and Cape Comorin." Raynal's India, Vol. I. B. IV.

In opposition to these ambitious projects, the English had not altogether neglected the interest of their country; and Mahomed Ali †, a descendant of a former Nabob of Arcot, having been dignified with the title of Nabob, in opposition to Chunda-saeb, the war was carried on between the two nations, under the names of these princes, with alternate success. But the French were better prepared for the contest, and were secretely aided by the ministry at home. The English had at first hesitated as to the part they were to take in military operations; and want of troops had afterwards prevented them from meeting their adversaries upon equal terms.

Madras, ill provided, and incapable of sustaining a siege, had fallen before La Bourdonnais in 1746, and the flames of war every day spreading wider over the Carnatic, seemed to threaten to extend into Europe. But this danger was for the present removed by the interference of the French and English ministers; and the two Eastern Companies were enjoined to agree upon certain terms of accommodation.

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* Nizam is synonymous with Viceroy or Soubahdar.

† Mahomed Ali was the second son of Amyar-a-Dran Khan, Nabob of the Carnatic, 1744. He asserted his claim to the Nabobship, from the grant of reversion obtained for it from Nizam-al-Moluck. Orme's Hindos. Vol. I. p. 132.

In consequence of this arrangement, Madras, and the other captures, were restored to the English; and something like a compromise of interests, and an equality of dominion, was nominally acceded to. The French arms had, however, acquired an influence in the north-east parts of the peninsula, by their successful treaty with the Soubahdar of the Decan, who had surrendered to them Masulipatnam and the adjacent provinces, which more than counterbalanced these cessions, and gave just uneasiness to the English.

But the treaty had not received the sanction of the French and English Courts, before a new war, in 1756, broke out in Europe, and extended its fury to the shores of India. The French were at first successful, being better prepared for the field; but, at the moment when the English were driven to extremities, and Madras could no longer resist the besiegers, a series of brilliant exploits, which led at length to the capture of Pondicherry, 1761, and the total destruction of the French army, re-established the British power, and wrested from the enemy all their possessions from Cape Comorin to the mouths of the Ganges.

CHAP. X.

OF THE STATE OF BENGAL AT THIS PERIOD.

Nor were the French more fortunate in their settlements on the Ganges; the same causes which had contributed to the decline of the Mogul power in the Decan, having operated with equal force in the eastern provinces.

Bengal, the easternmost of these provinces, from its fertility and local advantages called the Paradise of India, had been long the centre of a most flourishing trade: its inhabitants were rich and industrious, and its distance from the capital seemed to have secured it, in some measure, from the influence of those calamities, which had afflicted the other portions of the empire. Orme's Hindostan, Vol. II. p. 5.

Its riches, and the advantages of its situation, had early excited the attention of the Mahomedan conquerors of Hindostan; and its governors had alternately assumed an independent sovereignty, or been compelled to acknowledge the paramount authority of the Emperor. This claim to independence had been generally favoured by the troubles of the empire; and the Moguls had been for some time masters of India, before their power was fully acknowledged in this fertile region; when it was formed into a separate government, the charge being usually confined to a Prince of the royal blood, or an Omrah of unimpeached fidelity.

In the decline of the Mogul power, the effect of the continual revolutions, which gave so frequently a new sovereign to the throne of Delhi, had enabled the Nabobs to assert their independence on the crown.

Nizam-al-Moluck had already formed the southern provinces (Decan) into an independent kingdom; and, either by force or intrigue, ruled without controul the weak and pusillanimous councils of the Court of Delhi. The Mahrattas, awed by his power, directed their attacks against the middle and the northern provinces. The Soubahdar of Oude, who, as Vizir, was the highest Omrah of the empire, shewing an obedience to such orders only as might promote his own views, commanded, without the interference of the court, large armies, and disposed of the revenues, without rendering any account to the imperial treasury.

The Nabob of Bengal, if he avowed any dependence upon the empire, was more anxious to enlarge his own power, than to support

his allegiance. Good fortune favoured what his ambition had begun; Behar and Orixa were added to his Subah, and the strength of these united provinces completed his independence.

But these revolutions, so long as their trade was protected from the arbitrary exactions of the governors, were objects indifferent to the European settlers; and, in all probability, they might have still continued the humble tributaries of the Great Mogul or his deputies, had not self-defence, and the most unjustifiable pretensions on the part of the rulers of the country, excited a spirit of resistance and of enterprise, which led to unexpected results.

Whenever the English had suffered in their trade, remonstrances had been usually made at the courts of the Nabob, and appeals were even carried to the throne. But these measures, instead of benefiting, served only to increase their hardships; and pretences were never wanting to counteract the influence of a people, whose consequence, from their late successes in the Carnatic, began both to be felt and dreaded. It was not long before these jealousies were more fully manifested. It had been the advice of Aliverdy Cawn *, the late Nabob, to his young successor, Surajah Dowlah, to watch over the European settlements in Bengal, to suffer no increase in their garrisons, no addition to their fortifications; and though, at the same time, all encouragement should be given to their commercial views, not only as an essential benefit to the province, but likewise as the best security of their dependence on his government, yet to crush immediately those who should manifest any symptom of defence, or confidence in their own strength.

Surajah al Dowlah, who ruled at Moorshedabad, had taken of-

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* Aliverdy was an adventurer of Tartar origin; and it is probable that he changed his residence from Rajah-Mahl in 1742, which had long been the capital of the Bengal Viceroys, to Moorshedabad, from his dread of the English, over whose actions he kept a watchful eye.

fence at the refusal of the factory to comply with some of his arbitrary demands, and in consequence, marched with a considerable army, and laid seige to Calcutta, a place, which, though the principal settlement of the East India Company in Bengal, was, on the land side, totally unable to resist the approaches of the enemy. The defence of the city far exceeded the expectations of the impatient tyrant; but numbers at last prevailed over the perseverance and intrepidity of the small garrison, who surrendered on honourable terms. They were, however, ill observed, and many of the most respectable of the inhabitants perished by a death the most horrible, in the suffocating airs of a noisome dungeon. The other 1756.
European powers, who had factories on the Houghley, terrified by the menaces of the Nabob, or the fate of their neighbours, softened the tyrant's anger by timely concessions; whilst the English, who were alone incapable of resistance, were driven for the present from their possessions in Bengal.

But the triumph of Surajah was short: the English were soon reinforced from Europe; and animated with a courage sharpened by the desire of revenge, the undisciplined myriads of the Nabob retreated every where before them. As if to compensate for past disgraces and misfortunes, a series of brilliant successes crowned their arms; and under the conduct of Clive, the intrepid hero of Plassy, Surajah was dethroned, and Meer Jaffier placed upon the vacant 1757.
Musnud; who, by his ample concessions to his patrons, restored the face of affairs, and prepared the way to that power, by which a company of merchants, living under the protection of a vassal state, have become the arbiters of the fate of India.

The convulsions which had shaken the empire, and the various factions which, supported by the Hindus or Mahomedans, had placed at the same time two emperors on the throne of Timur; and reduced one of these princes, Shah Allum, to the necessity of soli-

citing alternately the protection of the Mahrattas, and the Nabobs of Bengal and Oude, at length involved the English in the quarrel. It was indeed, natural to expect, that the consequence which they had acquired by their late successes would be viewed with extreme jealousy by all the native Princes. These jealousies were still further fomented by Shujah-ud Dowlah, the Nabob Vizir of Oude, in whose hands the Delhian Prince was made an instrument to favour his own ambitious designs against the English. A formidable league was, therefore, formed against their interests; but the combined armies were defeated, and the battle of Buxar, which decided the 1764. fortunes of the turbulent Vizir, brought Shah-Allum* a suppliant into the British camp. Agreeable to the enlightened policy of Clive, the Emperor, who was only the weak minister of a factious Noble, received from the victors terms more favourable than he could have expected. Even the Vizir, the chief fomenter of the war, was reinstated in his dominions; whilst the royal cession of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, provinces already under their immediate power or influence, together with the northern Circars†, gave the English an extent of power and territory, which, as it better enabled them to protect the Prince from whom they had received it, served also to

See Verelst's View of the Rise and Progress of the English Government in Bengal.

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* To such distress was this Prince reduced in 1784, that he sent his son to solicit the assistance of Mr. Hastings. After undergoing a variety of hardships, and suffering insults the most degrading from Scindiah and the French, he was again rescued, in the late wars, from the hands of his persecutors, and restored, by the humanity of the English, from poverty and misfortune, to dignity, affluence, and comfort.

See a Letter on the Articles of Charge against Marquis Wellesley, 1808, p. 47.

† A Circar is equal in extent to the largest of the English counties. The four Circars were, Cicacole, Rajamundry, Ellore, and Condapilly. They were called *northern*, in respect to Madras, on which they depend; and the term has at length been adopted by the English in general.

Rennel's Mem. Map Hindost. p. 134.

increase their resources, and heighten their consequence in the eyes of the natives.

Shah Allum, though he now possessed only a small portion of those dominions which had once formed the Mogul empire, might have still enjoyed some shadow of royalty, had he rested securely under the British protection, and not yielded to the artful suggestions of the Mahrattas, who promised to restore him to the full possession of a throne, which, neither the circumstances of the times would admit, nor his own abilities enable him to preserve. By their influence, he was restored to Delhi; but, flattered merely with the splendour and trappings of royal dignity, he was no longer an independent prince, but a prisoner under the power of rigid and jealous masters, who made his name the plea for their own usurpations, and left him only an empty title, a scanty revenue, and a precarious existence.

CHAP. XI.

VICTORIES OF THE ENGLISH.

But if the English seemed thus firmly in possession of their new dominions, an arduous contest still engaged them, with various success, in the Decan. All India was in arms. The Soubahdar of the Decan, and the Mahratta tribes, forgetting their usual animosities, had joined in a common league to extirpate the British name in the East. The war with Hyder Ali, first the general, then the usurper of the kingdom of Mysore, involved all the various tribes Beatson's War in India, p. 223.

and independent Rajahs, who inhabited the peninsula from the kingdom of Tanjore to the westward of Cape Comorin *. But the same jealousies which had first excited this confederacy, frustrated its object, and created dissensions among its members. It soon appeared, that the object of the war, though declared to be solely for the general interest of India, was only a cover for the design of particular princes, who veiled their ambitious and selfish policy under the mask of the public good; nor had the mighty armies of the confederates, though aided by the influence and troops of France, any other consequences, than the depression and submission of the native powers, and the aggrandizement of the British dominion. The wily policy of Tippoo, the son and successor of Hyder, was still less successful against a superiority so decided; defeated in all his pro-
1792. jects, the army under Lord Cornwallis at last approached his capital; and, though his resistance was more vigorous, his troops better disciplined, and his resources more abundant, than those of any prince, except his father, who had hitherto opposed the Europeans,
First siege of Seringapatam. he was at last compelled to submit to whatever terms the conquerors might dictate.

The same restless spirit which animated the counsels of the Princes of the Mysore and the Decan, and the Poonah and Berar Mahrattas †, produced nearly similar effects in the northern and east-

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* Including the Imdiman's country, the Great and Little Marawars, and the province of Madura. These countries were all implicated in the Wars of Hyder.

† In 1740 a great revolution took place in the Mahratta government. The Rajah of Sattarah (the Ram Rajah), a weak prince, being upon the throne, it was concerted between the two principal officers of the state, Bajerow, the Peishwah, or Minister, and Ragojei, the Bukshi, or Commander in Chief, to divide the dominions of their master. In consequence of this arrangement, the former assumed the government of the western provinces, continuing at the ancient capital of Poonah; the latter took the eastern, and fixed his residence at Nagpour, a principal city in the province of Berar; whilst the Ram Rajah was confined to the fortress of Sattarah,

ern provinces. The English forces anciently opposed to the Nabob of Oude, were now engaged as his allies, against the Mahrattas, who, taking advantage of the circumstances of the times, had crossed the Ganges, in order to invade the Rohilla country; but a brigade of the British army was found sufficient to convert their ravages into the destruction of the invaders.

Hitherto the Rohillas had never been enemies to the English Government; a jealousy of their rising power had, however, long existed in the breast of Shujah ul Dowlah, who found them a weighty counterpoise to his own restless temper, and a vigilant check upon his interested designs: happy, therefore, to convert every occurrence into a charge of disaffection, a pretence was formed in 1774, that they had refused to comply with the terms of the alliance they had entered into after the defeat of the Mahrattas. Their late protectors were now made the instruments of the Nabob's ambition; and in the short space of three months the Rohilla country was subdued, and their army completely routed in a pitched battle near the village of Tessuah. Rohilcund, together with a large tract of land in the Dooab*, belonging to the Jauts and other adventurers, advanced the boundary of the Nabob Vizir, the ally, or

See Forster's Travels, Vol. I. p. 101—131.

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the Peishwah administering the government in his name. Hence the distinction between the Mahrattas of Poonah and Berar. The numerous princes and chieftains of this nation profess an obedience to the Peishwah, as head; which, like that paid by the German Princes to the Emperor, is merely nominal, or only complied with on occasions of mutual defence. In relation to "the other Mahratta chiefs, he is only "Primus inter pares; and some of the formalities acknowledging this superiority "are observed to him. He is not their sovereign, much less is he their master." Francis.

The Rajah of Sattarah is the only legitimate sovereign; but the title of an imprisoned monarch can be only nominal. "The Peishwah is the executive head of the go- "vernment; he is the root whence these branches spring, the acknowledged bond "of their union and independence." Dallas's Vindication, p. 27.

* The Dooab is a kind of Mesopotamia between the Jumna and the Ganges.

rather the tributary of the Company, westward, to within 25 miles of Agra.

From the year 1765 until this period, Bengal had enjoyed a greater share of tranquillity than any other part of India; rebellion was unknown; and the people lived peaceably under the auspices of a government, whose security had been established by conquest, and whose efforts might now be directed to their improvement and happiness. But whilst Bengal and its immediate dependencies were in full possession of peace, the other provinces of the empire became a prey to all the miseries of war. If little can be urged in vindication of the English, who, "to gratify a rapacious ally, and without even "acquiring an adequate benefit to the state, effected the destruction "of the Rohillas—a nation against whom they could not fabricate a "specious cause of complaint;" if the Government of India has been justly branded with terms of reproach, for levying unjust wars, and for an improper interference with the native powers; in this instance, "the war with Tippoo," it must stand acquitted to all the world: it was called upon in defence of an old and faithful ally, the Rajah of Travancore, who had been wantonly attacked, to counteract the ambition of a perfidious Prince, whose plans were all directed for their extirpation; and who, by secret treaties with the French, and intrigues with the native princes, was plotting the ruin of the British power *and influence*. The very subjects of the Sultan were ripe for revolt, and his inhuman cruelties had impressed their minds with the strongest principles of disgust and aversion*.

Forster's Travels, Vol. I. p. 176.

The designs of Tippoo on the Carnatic had not been diverted by

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* Major Taylor, in his Travels, speaks of the cruelties exercised by Tippoo on his Hindu subjects in the strongest terms: he saw dozens of Hindus hanging on the road side, the victims of the tyrant's bigotry and suspicions. See also the causes of the war, stated in Beatson's Memoirs of India, p. 13. Advantages of it, chap. xviii.

the memory of former defeats. Disappointment seemed only to have added fresh stings to revenge, and to have sharpened his sagacity for the improvement of his resources: nor were the warlike chieftains who inhabit the frontiers towards the Indus (Guzzurat), or the Poonah and Berar Mahratta, less anxious to shake off the yoke of a power, whose influence they had been taught to dread, and whose victories and reputation checked their own designs of conquest and dominion. With such dispositions, causes of complaint were easily found; the conspiracy was, besides, fomented by all the weight of foreign influence. But this new confederacy proved not more fortunate than those which had preceded it, and tended only to increase the lustre of the British arms, and complete the subjection of India.

The plans of Tippoo were ripe for execution, when the Marquis Wellesley assumed, in 1798, the supreme direction of the government in India. The precarious state to which the Company would have been reduced by the combination of so many powerful enemies, required the immediate adoption of the wisest measures to defeat it. By a judicious movement of the British troops in the northern Circars, in concert with the Nizam's cavalry, the capital of Hyderabad was rescued from the influence of Monsieur Perron's army, and the power of the enemy checked, in a quarter where his presence would have been peculiarly dangerous. The discomfiture of his ally delayed, but did not alter the designs of Tippoo; and he only waited an opportunity to attack the conqueror when less prepared for resistance. But the glorious and successful campaign of 1799 defeated all his hopes, and, by his own death, gave some respite to the calamities of his country.

Tippoo was the last of the Mahomedan Princes in the Decan who preserved his independence. In 1799 his capital was again besieged; and being stormed by the British army under General Harris,

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the Sultan perished, after a gallant resistance, at one of the gates of the fortress. Nothing now remained for the captors but to dispose of the vacant sceptre. The Mahomedan government was destroyed; and a child, descended, as it is said, from the Brahmin Princes, whom Hyder Ally had unjustly deposed, received the honours of royalty, whilst the real power continued in the hands of those who had elevated him to the throne.

Beatson's Mem. ch. xvi.

The death of Tippoo seemed to have placed the British interests in India on the securest basis. Either as principals or allies, the various princes of the peninsula had alternately felt the effect of their friendship or their power; and had there been no other enemies to combat, India might have enjoyed the fruits of a profound peace. The seeds of discontent had, however, been too widely scattered, both by Tippoo and the French, to be destroyed even by his death. The capture of Seringapatam, and the appropriation of the sea-port of Mangalore, secured the possessions of the Company on the Coast of Malabar, and prevented the French from pouring in troops in that quarter. But the large force raised by General Perron, and cantoned at Coel, in the very heart of the Dooab, and nominally under the influence of Scindiah, exercised an efficient and scarcely disguised sovereignty over a tract of country, perhaps the fairest in Hindostan. The fortress of Agra, and the person of the weak and blind Shah Allum, were under his immediate controul; his troops were supported by jaghires to the amount of more than a million sterling; and the almost impregnable fortress of Allygur, constructed by French engineers, within the Delta of the Jumna and the Ganges, left no room for doubting the nature of his ultimate designs.

His station was the more dangerous, as it confined upon the frontier of Oude, the country of the Vizir, which the English were bound to defend, not only by an express treaty, but as it was a bar-

rier to their southern provinces of Bahar and Bengal*. Owing to a long series of bad government, this country had fallen into a total anarchy. Every peasant and zemindar was prepared to favour the designs of an invading army; not, indeed, from any peculiar predilection to the French, but from that love of novelty, that hope of plunder, which generally impel minds long accustomed to despise the habits of legal restraint: for at this time there was a total want of any court of justice; in fact, there was no justice at all. The soldiers of the Vizir were licentious and disaffected; and he had not hesitated to declare, when, on the threatened invasion of Zemaun Shah, a large British force had been assembled on his north-west frontier, "that no reliance could be placed upon them in the day "of battle."

Oude, thus circumstanced, could oppose no obstacles to an invading enemy. A treaty was, therefore, concluded at Lucknow about the close of the year 1801, commuting the subsidy "he was before "bound to pay" for territory, and ceding those districts which were most distant from the Nabob's capital, and, therefore, most liable to inroad; namely, the country of Rohilcund, formerly wrested from the Rohillas; and the Dooab, or tract comprehended between the Delta and the Ganges.

In consequence of this treaty, the danger was not removed, but diminished, the country being better guarded against the designs of the enemy. About this time, the peace of Amiens gave new hopes to the disaffected: Pondicherry having been restored to France, it was soon discovered that her views upon India† had not been abandoned by the peace. Disappointed in her former projects in the

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* See a pamphlet by J. Brand, on the refutation of the charge brought against Marquis Wellesley.

† See pamphlet on the Review of the Affairs of India, 1807.

south, by the death of Tippoo, her measures seemed now to have been directed towards increasing her power in the north-west, by the influence of the army which Perron still held in the Dooab.

Under the generous plea of assisting the sovereign rights of the blind emperor, the French, as the *servants* of the *Mogul*, *acting under his authority*, and for *the establishment of his power*, were to have taken up arms in concert with any of the native powers who would join their standards; and the English were to have been expelled from India. These perfidious designs were fortunately disappointed by the vigilance of the Government, and the unexpected rupture of the peace of Amiens; and the princes who had been deluded by French influence were again made to feel the fatal effect of British vengeance. A series of brilliant victories attended the arms of England; the French and Mahratta armies were alternately defeated; nor did the victors cease from conquest, until they had no longer an enemy to subdue.

CHAP. XII.

REVIEW OF THE STATE OF INDIA.

We have recurred to the events of the late wars in India with a purposed brevity, unwilling to fix the attention upon objects whose recent occurrence must have rendered them familiar to every reader. The view of those revolutions which involved the fate of India pre-

vious and subsequent to the Mogul dynasty, as it enables us to form a clearer estimate of the manners, customs, and peculiar institutions of the people, has occupied a more considerable space in our narrative; since the notices, which can alone convey a perfect knowledge of eastern history, including a period of more than 3000 years, are scattered through books not always readily procured, and abounding so much with fiction and absurdity, as to render it difficult to distinguish truth from falsehood.

From this relation, it is presumed an accurate opinion may be formed of the distracted state of Hindostan, occasioned chiefly by the rude government, and wretched despotism of the early Mahomedan and Patan dynasties; and though a respite to these miseries seemed to spring from the more enlightened policy of Akber, and some of his Mogul successors; yet the death of Aurungzebe threw the empire once more into confusion, and gave the right of sovereignty to the boldest competitor. In this wide struggle for dominion, the British Government was at first unwillingly involved; and though the right of conquering peaceable and independent states can never be defended upon any principle of justice; yet, when we call to mind the nature of the first English settlement, that it was purely commercial, that its factories were under the grant and patronage of the native powers, and that their principal motive for drawing the sword was to ward off aggression, or, as allies to the reigning Princes, the policy and justice of some of the subsequent measures may, perhaps, admit of a palliation. It was not to be expected, that the change of character from a Company of merchants to Sovereign Princes, could be effected without some great convulsions. The Mogul Empire, had not the British arms been employed either as agents or principals, was rapidly falling to decay. The people, from the apathy derived from an infamous government, looked with indifference to its approaching ruin; and the factious

Nobles, who, without hereditary rights*, held their offices and jaghires at their sovereign's pleasure, were anxious, by the increase of the public confusions, to rescue themselves from fealty and tribute. Anarchy aggravated the cruelties of tyranny; the power of the em-

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* Baber, in 1500, using the right of conquest, adjudged, by a fundamental law, all the lands in the empire in property to the sovereign. They do not pass among private persons from father to son, but return to the prince after the death of the last possessor. Thus the people are, properly speaking, nothing but farmers to the Emperor. The officers of the Court subsist only by the benefactions of their master; no person is rich in his own funds; no person is great but from the bounty of the prince. A *Jaghire* is a grant of land, annexed to the charge of any office, by the imperial favour, or given upon certain conditions of service, &c. All despotic governments seem, as an essential character, to have adopted this principle. In Turkey no honours are hereditary; and all the wealth of a noble reverts at his death to the Porte. In China, universal obedience to the Emperor is supported by the operation of the same principle. It admits no hereditary nobility, at least none with exclusive privileges. As a mark of the sovereign's favour, a distinction will sometimes descend in a family; but as it confers no power, privilege, nor emolument, it soon wears out. All dignities may be considered as merely personal; and to satisfy the public mind for its loss of civil liberty, the first honours, and the highest offices, are open to the very lowest of the people. Property has no security; the man who has it is afraid to own it; and all the enjoyments it procures him are stolen.

New Hist. East Indies, Abbe de Guyon, Vol. I. p. 186.

Barrow's Chin. p. 385.

Ibid. p. 397.

The Emperor of China is the sole proprietor of the *soil;* but the tenant is never turned out, as long as he continues to pay his rent, which is calculated at about one tenth of what his farm is supposed capable of yielding; the holder is therefore always a tenant at will. The greatest part of the lands in Persia, says Tavernier, Book V. ch. xi. belong to the king, and are only farmed by private persons. The rest of the lands are measured, and every land pays so much a measure. Mr. Scott Waring, Tour to Sheeraz, p. 17, ch. xxii. and p. 309, asserts, "in Persia *land may be sold and purchased by every class of people;*" and that only an eighth of the land in Fars and Irak belongs to the king; a tenth is paid on other lands of the produce. In many parts of Arabia, and in the vicinity of Bussorah, the land is the actual property of the subject. In Oude, previous to the treaty of Lucknow, the Aumil, or Farmer of the district, was limited by no settled controul, but demanded a rent according to his pleasure, the soldiers assisting the Aumil, living at free quarters, on the weaker zemindars and helpless cultivators.

peror was derided or evaded, and the feeble descendants of the destroyer Taimur, become the cyphers of their ambitious Omrahs, could not even defend themselves within the limits of their own capital. The whole extent of India was apportioned among needy adventurers, or aspiring princes; the right to the crown was contested with the sword; and the bowl and the assassin destroyed those, whom more open and manly violence could not subdue; the fairest plains were ravaged by a numerous and rapacious cavalry; the sacred shrines, and the most revered pagodas, no longer afforded an asylum to the wretched; the very ashes of the dead were ransacked and polluted by the hand of avarice; and the innocent and defenceless Hindu looked forward to any change as preferable to the confusion and miseries which overwhelmed his devoted country.

France having failed in her attempt to place her creature Chunda-Saeb upon the nabobship of the Carnatic, and in her projects on the Decan, and viewing with a jealous eye the improving commerce of the English, endeavoured to raise against them the hatred of the native princes. When the English, who had been compelled to yield, upon the banks of the Ganges, to the superior force of the Nabob of Bengal, were invited as allies and protectors of the injured prince Mahomed Ali, the French name and power were in the height of their prosperity. The scale of fortune no sooner turned in favour of the English, than their real character, before clouded by disgrace and misrepresentation, became more conspicuous; and wherever they appeared, they were hailed by the natives as saviours, sent by a guardian Providence, to protect them from the brutal violence of their oppressors. If the colouring of this picture seem heightened beyond the truth, we have only to refer to the testimony of the Hindus themselves. Senkariah's Defence of the Hindus, quoted from Buchanan, p. 115.

"These ravages of Hindostan (from the repeated invasions of the "Mussulmans) so disturbed the peace of the country, that the princi-"ples of its inhabitants were confounded, their learning degraded, "and their customs entirely forgotten. Thus reduced, having no

" means of support, they were induced to practise the vices forbid-
" den them; they would have become savages, or have been entirely
" rooted out, had not the glorious British nation established the
" standard of their government."

And though it appears that when it was known to the natives, that Shah Allum intended to march against the English, success and prosperity were prayed to attend his arms; yet when they perceived the disorderly state of his troops, the extortions of his officers, and the Prince's inability to protect them, their sentiments changed, the *loyalty* they had borne him was transferred to the English, and he was loaded with imprecations; and when, afterwards in 1776, their good opinion was altered, it was, as the native historian has described it, because they conceived that " their new rulers were totally indif-
" ferent to the happiness of the people of Hindostan, and suffered
" them to be plundered and oppressed by the Nabobs, the Omrahs,
" and their dependants."

Asiatic Regist. Vol. IV.

What state can be conceived more terrible than that of the natives under the Mussulman government, previous to the British conquests? " *Their government*," says Mr. Scrafton, " borders so
" nearly upon anarchy, that you would wonder how it keeps to-
" gether. The grand mystery of their politics is to foment dissen-
" sions." All virtuous incentives to noble actions are here unknown; assassination takes the place of justice, and money is the only spring to attachment. From the finest provinces of the Decan, all manufactures, commerce, and even agriculture, which in former ages had flourished there in the highest perfection, were banished. The Mahrattas, under a system the most barbarous and tyrannical, filled up the measure of public calamity, and spread widely oppression, poverty, and famine. " Whole districts were frequently swept
" away;" and the farmer either neglected the cultivation of the soil, or sowed it without the hope of realizing a harvest.

Pamphlet by Major Scott Waring, Pref. xx.

Can we now therefore ask, " why the British government has been

" deemed a blessing by the Hindus? But because the public reve-
" nues, the amount of which is fixed, have been collected by the
" rules established by their ancestors;" so that the collector cannot possibly act arbitrarily or oppressively, because justice is punctually administered to them by the laws of the Koran and the Sastra, carefully investigated and explained; because they are never disturbed in the possession of their private property, nor are maltreated with impunity by a British subject; but, above all, because no undue interference, until the unfortunate mutiny at Vellore, had been made on the subject of their religion, which is dearer to them than their lives. It is from this conduct that the British government is deemed a blessing *.

It is not, however, to be denied, that amongst some of the Mahomedan, and more especially the native princes, there was still some respect shewn to their subjects; some semblance of law and government; some traces of that simplicity, mildness, temperance, and moderation, which formed the characteristic features of the ancient Hindostan states, before their subjection to the Mussulman armies; but these instances served only, by their contrast, to heighten the general distress.

If it be asked, why in such an unparalleled accumulation of misery, did not the people start from their lethargy, and assert their inherent rights, which no tie can obliterate, and no compact destroy? It was, because, from gross ignorance, they rather chose rest in inac-

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* The testimony of the Marquis Cornwallis on this subject will not be disputed. In his letter to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, he avows his *conscientious confidence*, " that no greater blessing can be conferred on the native *inhabitants* " *of India* than the extension *of British authority, influence, and power.*" The effect has been, that the native population has greatly increased in the dominions of the Company; whilst emigrations are " frequent *on the bordering states, for the ex-* " *press purpose of enjoying the laws of the Company's government.*"

Sir William Jones's Work.

tivity than labour; "because fatal experience had taught them, "that it was better tamely to become the slaves of one tyrant, than "they might escape the domination of many, or preserve themselves "from tyranny of any kind by their union and their virtues. The "natives of India," says he, "*must and will* be governed *by abso-* "*lute power.*" "It was, because, familiar with the sight of un- "limited power in daily exercise, they had learned not to complain "of injustice, and to suffer without a murmur, since they were con- "scious that they only suffered one day what might be the lot of

Barrow's China, p. 396.

"their neighbours the next. The Indians, like the Chinese, en- "joyed no rights but what were liable to be trampled upon and "invaded, whenever the sovereign, or any of his nearer representa- "tives, from interest, malice, or caprice, might think fit to ex- "ercise the power that was within their grasp. The doctrine of "employing resistance against oppression, applied to the people and "the government, was so contrary to every sentiment of the former, "that the latter had little to fear from it."

Page 68.

"Those ties," says Sir George Dallas, in his Apology for the Marquis Wellesley, "which connect the subject with the sovereign "in the more civilized states of Europe, are unknown to the less "happy dependants on the despotic governments of Asia." "In "the latter, a barbarous policy, combined with the darkness of "Pagan idolatry, enervating, like their climate, the moral energies, "still retains the people under the iron sceptre of a power, bounded "by no limits, communicating no rights, and listening to nothing "but the dictates of an arbitrary will." "The Indian has no "country—the feelings of patriotism lie dormant in the silence of "despotism—the rights of the people sleep—there justice is the "footstool of power; and life and property, not less than the soil "they cultivate, are held of the prince who rules."

A government thus supported could have little influence, either on the hopes or gratitude of the people; they looked therefore to its

fall without regret, and witnessed the rapid change of masters with the satisfaction of men, who thought any revolution might afford some respite to their calamities.

This was the melancholy picture of Hindostan under the Patan and Mogul dynasties; nor have we much reason to imagine that her situation is much improved under many of her present native and Mahomedan Princes, when their power is not controuled by foreign influence. It has been urged, that "to him who lightens their "yoke will their gratitude be directed; that this grateful task has "devolved on the British nation, and that we ought not to be dis- "suaded from communicating to them the blessings of peace and "protection, in cases where policy and justice sanction our interfer- "ence, by any apprehension of individual hatred; that even the "hatred thus excited must be outweighed by the security derived "from the general good-will towards us, produced in the minds of "all those who feel the improvement of their condition, the enlarge- "ment of their rights, and the enjoyment of a more durable peace, "to have originated in the salutary exertions of British power and "influence." Dallas's Vind. p. 69, 70.

But whatever may be the arguments produced by the advocates of a particular cause, it cannot be denied that under the British dominion there have been crimes, as well as calamities, in India. If we lay aside the heavy complaints, which in some instances have been brought home to the accused, and in others been silenced or defeated, the annals of our own country will produce sufficient evidence, that our military as well as our civil arrangements in India have not been always directed on the soundest principles either of wisdom or justice. The charges of foreigners are still of a more heinous nature. The description given by some of them of the ancient English government is of the most disgraceful cast, although some fair allowance should be made for national spleen and prejudice. "Ils "exercerent," says Sonnerat, "le despotisme le plus dur, et com- Voyage aux Indes, Vol. I. Liv. I. c. 1.

" mirent des concussions abominables. Familiarisés avec les injus-
" tices, sans connoitre les hommes, sans savoir ce qu'ils leur doivent,
A. Milord Pigot's Administration. " ils se chargent de les gouverner: par mille bassesses," &c. " Cet
" excès de violence, joint aux fléaux de toute espéce qu'eprouverent
" les Indiens, changea leur pays en une vaste solitude, dont la moitié,
" cultivée jadis par des hommes libres, n'est plus habitée aujourd'hui
" que par des bêtes féroces."

It was the policy, the hope, and the resolution of Lord Clive, the founder of our Indian greatness, not to extend the British possessions beyond the Bengal provinces and the Circars, with a small tract of land round Madras, and the island of Salsette, near Bombay: these he deemed fully equal to every measure of good policy, and to our powers of keeping possession. Towards Oude his conduct was directed in a manner far different from that of succeeding times.
Letter to the Directors on this subject. Foster's Trav. Vol. I. p. 153. " Our old privileges and possessions, he conceived, would have been
" endangered by every supply we might have been tempted to afford
" in support of the new, and the natives must have finally triumphed
" in our inability to sustain the weight of our own ambition." How far the justice of this opinion is to be relied upon, events yet unknown must determine.

The grant of the Dewanny of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, secured by his enterprise and labours, gave to the Company a powerful establishment, and, in fact, a sovereignty, under the name of a Country Government. It is the misfortune of extended empire ever to lead to new claims. To a power whose sovereignty had been established by the sword, pretensions would never be wanting, wherever any occasion arose, of interfering in the domestic arrangements of independent states, or of acquiring new territories to complete or secure the frontiers of a province, whose limits were already ascertained. Pleas of necessity, or fancied expediency, are at all times, to ambitious minds, a sufficient justification of any favourite object: and thus slight deviations from the original defensive plan of Clive, allowed at first as

necessary to our security, led only to more important revolutions; thus aggression ever finds advocates, and the justice of a war becomes the converse of its policy.

From foreign merchants, they suddenly became a great territorial and political power; "from adventurers, who had every thing to win, they became possessors, who had every thing valuable to lose." Their maxims changed with their situation, and the interference of Parliament in 1782, strengthened by the two successive acts of 1784 and 1793, seconded the just views and sound policy of Clive, by adopting and enjoining limitations of dominion. Francis' Speech.

It will, perhaps, be necessary, for the better understanding the subject, to give some account of the legislative resolutions then adopted for the security of India.

In 1782 it was unanimously resolved and declared, "That to "pursue schemes of conquest and extent of dominion in India, "are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy "of this nation." Mr. Hastings, the Governor-General, had proclaimed the same opinion, "That to depart from this absolute line "of self-defence, unless impelled to it by the most obvious neces- "sity, was dangerous to the security and tranquillity of the pro- "vinces."

The act of 1773, relative to the Supreme Court of Indian Judicature, having been ill understood, or its powers improperly administered, heavy complaints were made to Parliament; and, in consequence, two separate Committees of the House were appointed in 1780 and 1781, to examine into the abuses alleged to have been committed in the distribution of justice. The powers of these Committees having been afterwards extended, they were instructed to consider "how the British possessions in the East Indies might be "held and governed with the greatest security and advantage; "and by what means the happiness of the natives might be best "promoted."

The attention of the Legislature gave rise to new inquiries, awakened speculative men from the listlesness in which they had hitherto passed over the affairs of India, and produced many chimerical, but some useful plans of reform. The judgment of the public was, however, principally divided by the discordant opinions of the two greatest statesmen of their age*. The celebrated bills of Mr. Fox, in 1783, which have undergone so much unjust censure and misrepresentation, were introduced with the professed intention of relieving the natives from the miseries under which they laboured, and which they had in a great measure experienced, either from the mismanagement or corruption of the Company's agents.

The agitation of this momentous question produced in the nation a violent ferment; and strong parties were formed to oppose its further progress in the senate. A principal objection started against one of these bills was on the plea, that it would either be the means of subverting the constitution, by creating an *imperium in imperio*, and throwing a great and predominating influence into the hands of the Crown; or be the instrument of retaining in power a political party, whose great talents, aided by the rich patronage of India, would have rendered them so strong, that the King could not have dismissed them, whereby the prerogative would have been invaded.

Mr. Pitt's bill, in 1784, professed the same desire of relieving India from the evils it had so long suffered under a corrupt or improvident Administration, and of preventing unnecessary wars. To this purpose, the Governors of Fort William were expresssly prohibited from declaring war, or entering into any hostile treaty with the country powers, unless in case of actual or impending danger. It undertook effectually to redress the wrongs and injuries of the Rajahs,

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* See the pamphlet of Mr. Sheridan, on the comparative Statement of the two Bills, new edit. 1806.

and to settle and establish the rents and tributes upon principles of moderation and justice: it took the sovereign management of the civil and military government and revenues out of the hands of the Company, and placed them under the controul of Commissioners appointed by his Majesty.' Other regulations were also subjoined, against acts of extortion, and for the purpose of bringing the offenders against those statutes to condign punishment.

Vide Statutes, c. xxv. 24 Geo. III. (1784) Sect. xxxiv.—xxxix.

The general merits of the two bills have been often compared; and the public voice seems to have decided in favour of Mr. Pitt. It may, however, be observed, that the remedial enactments of his bill having been brought into practice, the result is conclusive, as to its secret and predominating weight of influence. The measures of his great rival have hitherto been only matter of speculation: the question of superior wisdom, or superior political consistency might, perhaps, be fairly resolved, by asking the Court of Proprietors or Directors of the East India Company, if they have more reason to be satisfied with the liberty they enjoy, even over their trade, which was left exclusively to their management, than they could possibly have been under the influence of Mr. Fox's Parliamentary Directors? The one would have worked openly, the other effects its purposes by dark and delusive schemes, and saps the outworks which it dare not storm. "Mr. Fox's Bill* was only a trial

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* "There is but one distinction," says Major Scott Waring, "between the law "as it now stands, and the plan proposed by Mr. Fox. The present law vests "complete power and responsibility in the hands of Ministers appointed by the "Crown, but has reserved to the Company a considerable degree of patronage." By Mr. Fox's bill, the whole patronage would have been given to the five Parliamentary Commissioners. The present system is blamed, as incongruous, as wanting "that unity of action, *which is the perfection of executive power.*" Charges of malversation are made on one side, and disregarded by the other. The Court of Directors and the King's ministers are at issue; wars are begun and ended; British blood and treasure are profusely lavished, without the concurrence or

Observations on the Present State of the East India Company, p. 53.

Sheridan's Comparative Statement of the two Bills.

"in trust for four years; Mr. Pitt's a professed change of manage-
"ment and measures; his Board of Controul having separated, and
"usurped those very imperial prerogatives from the Crown which
"were falsely said to have been given to the new Board of Direc-
"tors, under Mr. Fox's bill; and, perhaps, the whole and only dif-
"ference between them, in point of patronage is, that by Mr. Fox's
"it was given directly, and must have been exercised openly: by
"Mr. Pitt's, it was given circuitously, and may be exercised
"secretly."

But, independent of the merit of these provisions, independent of that spirit of party and recrimination which seems at present to agitate the Councils of the Senate, and to have passed into all the associations of civil life, as to the great question of the political management of our eastern possessions; to those who have impartially considered the subject, so many acts and precautions of the Legislature, so many heavy complaints from abroad, so many accusations at home, can only serve to prove the existence of great imperfections in all the former schemes of Government, and to warrant the belief, that much yet remains for the wisdom of Parliament to correct or controul.

If, however, the effects of the wars anterior to the conquest of Seringapatam, and the partition of Oude, occasioned so much apprehension as to their ultimate consequence upon the parent state; the subsequent transactions in India have justly increased this alarm, by involving questions which not only regard the springs and sources of that abundant wealth, which, as we have seen, has ever enriched the nations who possessed the commerce of India, but as they are connected with our future means of retaining such immense dominions,

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knowledge of Parliament. The Directors propose measures which the Government amend or reject. The Company is the nominal sovereign, but the real power is in the Crown. They may instruct; but their servants are not always compelled to obey.

as they bear upon the colonization of the country by English families, and its consequent drain upon English population; and lastly, as they relate to the happiness of the natives, and the interior arrangements of a distant and expensive Government.

See, on this subject, Considerations upon the Trade with India, p. 124. Cadell. 1807.

It is not, however, our intention to enter altogether into the justice or policy of the wars, which, since the fall of Tippoo and the treaty of Lucknow, have changed the politics of India, and thrown such an increased weight of power and influence into the hands of the Company. The subject divides, at this time, the opinions of the first political men in the kingdom; and will, in all probability, be soon submitted to a public scrutiny. We shall only briefly state the arguments adduced on either side, and leave the reader to form its own judgment upon the general evidence.

It is urged by some, that "such extensive conquests seldom or "ever produce any real advantage to the conquerors, especially "when the solid security of a very great and profitable, though a "limited possession, is changed for the precarious tenure of an un- "bounded dominion, which does not pay you while you hold it; "nor does the advantage to be derived from such distant and ha- "zardous enterprises tend to any thing else but to weaken the sub- "stantial resources of the Government, and excite the exertion of a "force, which costs more in one year than the success of it will re- "pay in many." They argue, "that the system pursued by Lord "Wellesley, more especially in regard to Oude, from the year 1798 "to 1802, was founded on unjustifiable ambition and love of "power; that he had formed schemes of aggrandizement and ac- "quisition of territory, in direct opposition to the established policy "of the East India Company; that he pursued this object by means "offensive, and with a spirit irritating to the Nabob, with a total "disregard of the recorded opinions of two several acts; that he "wrested from this Prince a large portion of his territory, and "deprived him of all effective government over the remainder, in

Mr. Francis's Speech in the Mahratta War, 1805.

Motions on the Oude Question, by Lord Folkstone, 1808.

" direct violation of every principle of good faith, equity, and jus-
" tice, and in open breach of the sacred obligation of a solemn
" treaty; and that he has thereby affixed a lasting stigma and re-
" proach on the British name and character, and contributed to de-
" stroy all confidence in the moderation, justice, and good faith of
" the British Government in India." Others, perhaps, turning their attention only to inferior objects, to the petty details of private expense and arrangement, and disregarding features of higher eminence—the change of political relations, the character of the natives, and the dangerous nature of the times, have discovered still darker spots in the administration of Lord Wellesley.

But in return for the language of complaint and reproach, the panegyrists of this Nobleman have exultingly hailed him as the Saviour of India, have called all his measures just, politic, and necessary, originating from the most comprehensive views, the clearest justice, and the most enlightened policy*. " Had the Company's
" political relations," says the author of the Vindication of the Justice and Policy of the late War in India, " remained as they were
" at the period of obtaining a footing in Bengal, (none of the
" native states varying in their relative force) the system of Lord
" Clive would alike have continued without alteration, as the wisest
" which human prudence could have adopted for the case it em-
" braced." But this was not to be expected. Could the power and the system of the Company continue fixed, when nothing around it was permanent? Could either remain stationary, while other powers were rapidly increasing their strength and resources? Every surrounding state must have seen, with a jealous eye, a band of strangers acquiring the richest and fairest parts of India. " France,
" hurled from the throne which she had erected in the Subah,

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* Vindication of the Justice and Policy of the late War in India, p. 55. 91. 77. 80. 82. 79. See also, Review of Affairs of India, 1798 to 1806.

" was preparing, by intrigues, to recover her dominion and her in-
" fluence; her Ministers were busy, at every Durbar, in raising
" against us, the mischiefs of jealousy, and the standard of revolt.
" On our north-western—our weakest frontier, a new power had
" arisen, under French influence; a state, which, as an advanced
" military post, presented an easy entrance through the Persian
" empire into the heart of India, by those increasing military
" powers, which, at no remote period, seemed destined to reach the
" walls of Ispahan. Our ally, the Peishwah, or nominal head of
" the Mahratta state, was driven from his throne by the ambitious
" Holkar; the conduct of Scindiah * was doubtful and alarming,
" when the treaty of Bassein, sanctioned, either tacitly or ex-
" pressly, by the Secret Committee, the executive and legitimate
" organ of the Court of Directors, was confirmed by Lord Wel-
" lesley and the Peishwah; a treaty † which, though still the subject of
" the severest animadversions, has assured to the Company that solid
" territory, which has so long been the object of its wishes and exer-
" tions. The Mahratta power has, in consequence, been severely
" humbled, the frontiers strengthened and augmented, and the
" British possessions on the coast of Malabar consolidated; a bar-
" rier having been raised against France, by shutting against her
" the port of Surat, which must effectually check her designs upon

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* Scindiah is the nephew of Duttah Pattele, who commanded a division of the Mahratta army opposed to the Afghans, and was slain on the Plains of Bundelly, near Delhi, at the passage of the Jumna.

† See the treaty signed by Sir George Barlow and Scindiah, 22d Nov. 1805, and that of the 24th December, in the same year, with Holkar. See the Letter written by the Secret Committee, ratifying and approving Mr. H. Wellesley's conduct on the treaty of Lucknow, concluded in 1801, dated East India House, 19th Nov. 1803.

See Review of the Affairs of India (1807), p. 69. 84.

For the treaty of Bassein, see Asiatic Register, State Papers, 1803.

" India from that quarter. And to what other causes, say his
" apologists, can this security be ascribed, but to the superior wis-
" dom of his Lordship, to that policy which his opponents con-
" demn? Is there a hope of a permanent peace? it is wholly de-
P. 77. " rived from his measures. In short, without the successful at-
" tainment of all these great objects, which his luminous and com-
" prehensive mind conceived to be necessary for the protection and
" safety of our dominions in the East; instead of enjoying, as we
" now do, an empire extended, though not weakened, and aloof,
" comparatively, from every danger of internal or foreign over-
" throw, we might have been struggling for our lost provinces, or,
" perhaps, British India had been no longer ours."

Against arguments so flattering to the individual whom they protect, and so agreeable to our national vanity, the resolutions of Parliament have been brought forward, as strictly forbidding all schemes of conquest and extension of empire. The most gloomy pictures have besides been drawn of the dangers attendant upon all sudden increase of territory in a country torn to pieces by civil dissensions, and with a people so long accustomed to change, as to render them at all times eager to join the standards of any adventurers who could hold out the least prospect of success or encouragement. The incompatibility of the characters of merchants and sovereign princes; the difficulty of administering a government so distant from the parent state; the latitude of power unavoidably entrusted with the Governors; the hatred we have necessarily excited by our conquests and frequent interference with the native powers, have been described and insisted upon, in terms the most forcible and pointed; even the very measure at which the patrons of the late territorial acquisitions most loudly exult, the advancement of our frontier towards the Indus, instead of being hailed as any proof of our additional security from invasion, has been arraigned as the dangerous innovation of ill-advised and infatuated ambition.

It is, however, true, that neither in history nor in fact is the limited policy of one age a general rule to guide the decisions of another; nor can it be denied that the current of circumstances may so materially alter, as to make deviations from former usages both just and politic. What was formerly the balance of power in Europe, has, in consequence of the aggrandizement of the French empire, become more a subject for the discussion of the historian, than of serious speculation, as to any probability of its due observance. The wonderful revolutions of kings and empires, that we daily witness, cannot be reduced to any standard of human wisdom, or political compact; and we seem thrown into such extraordinary times as, in some measure, to warrant our neglect of the rules which have heretofore governed the mutual intercourse of civilized states. In wars of aggression on the part of our enemies, nothing could preclude us, (said Mr. Pitt) from securing future tranquillity by the extension of our empire in India; and, perhaps, had Lord Clive lived to see the revolutions which have since agitated India and the western world, he would have been the first "to qualify the rashness of his own declaration," and to prove that "the extending of the empire beyond its original limits was no longer a matter of choice, but of necessity;" and the only reasonable method that could be adopted for its security and independence.

Thus, in whatever point of view this interesting subject is considered, it offers a wide field for the most serious reflections. If the Mahratta war, the affairs of the Carnatic, the seizure of Oude, and the consequent extension of our empire towards the Persian frontier, can be justified upon the acknowledged principles of private morality and public law, which comprehend the great question of our political rights; the wisdom and policy of Lord Wellesley's administration will be entitled to our warmest commendation, and insure to him a continuance of that gratitude, which, on the death of the tyrant of the Mysore, the nation was not slow to express.

See, on the Carnatic subject, Reply to Strictures, Edinburgh Review.

Vote of Thanks of Lords and Commons, *nem. con.* 3d May, 1804, and annuity of 5000*l.* for 20 years, by the Proprietors of E. I. Stock.

If, on the other hand, divested of those prejudices which are usually attendant upon successful conduct, it can be incontestibly proved that, by alienating the two principal leaders of the Mahrattas, and immoderately extending our territorial claims, we have grossly trenched upon the just rights of independent nations, and excited the jealousy and abhorrence of the bordering powers, without having, in any effectual manner, added to the security of our empire, or the prospect of a durable peace; if the system of hostility and petty warfare so long pursued have tended only to bring our possessions nearer in contact with a more resolute enemy, and rendered our line of defence less tolerable against an enterprising invader; we shall have to regret, when it is too late, the improvidence and injustice of our conquests, and perhaps present to other nations an awful warning of the miserable effects of unbounded ambition and rapacity.

Thus, whatever may be the future result of these conquests, their immediate consequences cannot be disputed; which consist chiefly, in the injurious impressions made against our character by foreign nations, thus weakening our boasted claim to patriotism and integrity; and an immense increase of the Company's debt, already pressing heavily upon its arrangements, both at home and abroad; and which, if ever paid, must in all probability be added to the burthens of the nation.

That this accusation is not wantonly made, will more fully appear, if we take a short view of the arguments that have been adduced in its support; and whether the present distresses of the Company arise from mismanagement abroad or at home, we cannot for a moment doubt that their embarrassments are great and unprecedented.

It is said, that with an increased revenue* from the conquered and

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* See the pamphlet of Major Scott Waring, on the present State of the East India Company, 1808.

ceded provinces, the Company is worse off in 1808, than it was in 1794; because then they had the same surplus of one million, with a debt of only ten millions, instead of a debt, as at present, of thirty millions. The result of Lord Wellesley's administration was an increased revenue of five millions, and a debt contracted of twenty millions sterling. The great accession of territory made under the same Government, has necessarily required an increased army, at least so long as the power of France predominates; and it is contended, in consequence, that the prosperity or ruin of the Company's finances in India will depend entirely on the determination of the King's Ministers, in regard to their military establishments, in which alone economy can be practised with effect, the expenditure in the civil service not admitting of any diminution *.

If, therefore, the measures of the Marquis Wellesley have increased the necessity of keeping so large an army as we now possess, the additional revenue, under the present system, will not tend to diminish the debts of the Company. On the other hand, it is said, that this deficiency arises not from "mal-administration "abroad," but from "a defective system" at home; "from the "annual drain that is made of the resources of India, without any "reciprocal return," from heavy expenditure, and unproductive "sales."

It signifies not, however, from what quarter the evil proceeds; "the one must involve the other, and both oppress the nation." It

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Letter of Sir P. Francis to Lord Howick, on the Finances of the East India Company.

Review of the Affairs of India, 1807, by Cadell.

Considerations upon the Trade with India. Cadell, 1807.

* Mr. David Scott stated, that the necessary force for preserving our eastern possessions was 25,000 Europeans and 125,000 native troops; whilst Major Scott asserts, that this number is, even in the present condition of our empire, wholly unnecessary.

is also asserted, " that their affairs are involved in such obscurity that " few understand, or will take the trouble of unravelling them;" and " that the period of their fall is fast approaching;" that the characters of merchant and sovereign are in their nature so irreconcileable, that no rational improvement can be expected under their union. The great authority of Adam Smith is brought forward, in favour of these opinions; and the histories of former companies and monopolists are quoted, as proofs of the impossibility of the present surviving their common fate.

In all these questions, the Directors of the Company, and the accredited Ministers of the Government, are at issue. The former cast from themselves all the responsibility of those measures which have produced the change in our Indian relations, and have so greatly burthened the Company, and throw all the weight of the charge on the Board; which, since 1784, through their political power, have controuled the resources of India, and been the instruments and authorised agents in the revolutions which have followed. They contend, that " their *increased expenses and diminished sales*," and the consequent depression of their resources at home, have arisen from the state of the Continent, now shut against their trade, and that, consequently, no reasonable accusation of delinquency can attach to them. They urge that " their remonstrances have produced no " change of opinion in his Majesty's Ministers, for neither they nor " the Marquis Wellesley appear to wish to shrink from responsi- " bility;" and they conceive that " the British empire, as it is now " extended, was contrary to the policy prescribed by the Legisla- " ture; and that it was contrary to the interests of the Company, " they have proved by the clearest statements;" finally, that the extensive plans of foreign policy, of late years adopted by the King's Indian Ministers, though followed up " by brilliant exploits, have " only been productive of more serious evils; have removed farther " than ever the prospect of reducing their debt and expenses; and

Reply of the Court of Directors to the Letter of the King's Indian Ministers.

" have exchanged the secure state and respected character of the " British power for an uncertain supremacy, and, it is to be feared, " for the disaffection of all the states of India."

These and similar allegations have been for a considerable time, produced by the contending parties. It is our wish only to state the question fairly and candidly, and, from the documents we have produced, to leave the ultimate decision to the public.

CHAP. XIII.

ON THE ADVANTAGES RESULTING TO THE NATIVES FROM THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

If, however, we have been so long compelled to dwell upon the unfavourable side of the British character in India, it would be unjust to conceal the benefits which have resulted to the natives from the revolution, which has consigned the empire of Hindostan to the sovereignty of Great Britain.

The Bengal provinces, from the time of their subjection to the British empire, have enjoyed a tranquillity not experienced by them since the days of Aurungzebe; their territory is not only better cultivated than the lands of any other state in Hindostan, the people happier, and the laws better administered, but infinitely superior to any thing they enjoyed at the time the Company received the grant of the Dewanny, or for many years preceding that period.

Rennel.

There are, doubtless, evils inseparable from the condition of a tributary state, where the supreme ruling power resides at the distance of half the circumference of the globe; but these are to be balanced, by advantages of a peculiar nature, "the submissive character of the people, the paucity of their wants, the facility with "which the soil and climate, unaided by the exertions of labour, can "supply them, the abundant resources of subsistence and traffic-"able wealth which may be drawn from the natural productions, "and from the manufactures both of established usage and of new "introduction, to which no men upon earth can bend their minds "with a readier accommodation, leave little to the duty of the "magistrate but attention, protection, and forbearance." That protection, under the British Government, the natives have generally enjoyed. Many of the most fertile provinces were formerly a prey to civil dissensions, and subject to the merciless ravages of the Mahrattas, the peculiar feature of whose empire is, "that it *is al-*"*ways considered as in a state of war.*" These marauders have been successfully curbed. The petty quarrels of the Rajahs have been reconciled by an appeal to a superior power, whose force, whilst it commands respect from the strong, gives security to the weak. Agriculture and commerce have been carried to a high state of improvement. The evils of famine arising from the nature of the climate, and the improvident temper of the natives, have been carefully guarded against by the establishment of public granaries; and whilst other provinces have been suffering extreme hardships, Bengal and its dependencies have, since the year 1770, enjoyed comparative abundance. The resources of justice, purged of many of their former deviations and irregularities, now flow with a smooth and even course; and religious toleration every where allowed, offers no violence to the feelings of the Indian, whilst it secures to the stranger the enjoyment of his peculiar worship.

Hastings's Mem. India, p. 111.

The general condition of the Ryots, or sub-tenants, has been no

less happily improved. By fixed and moderate assessments, their proprietary right in their lands has been acknowledged, and the descent of inheritances regulated according to their own laws.

Lord Teignmouth's Life of Sir W. Jones, Vol. II. p. 237.

In Bengal, where the revenue of the State has had the form of a land-rent*, the management of the public finances has a more immediate influence on agriculture, than any other part of the administration. The ancient Hindu Princes were moderate in their demands, and limited in their assessments by the Mahábárát, and the institutes of Menu and other legislators. The sovereign was the superior of the soil; the Zemindars were officers of revenue, justice, and police, who received certain districts to be cultivated on a per centage to be paid to the State. These were at first conferred only as an inheritance, during the unquiet times, which succeeded the decline of the Mogul empire; but were at length claimed as actual property. The Company respected these claims of the Zemindars, and confirmed them in perpetuity, on a tenure of 50 years, in Bengal and Behar. The Ryot, or the cultivator of the soil, attached to his possession with the right to cultivate it, was subject to payments, varying according to particular agreements and local customs. The collection of these payments belonged to the Zemindars, who were checked in their offices by Courts of Record and Account. Under the Mussulman Governments, since the fall of the Mogul empire, there has been no standard of assessment in the revenues: the collections were always made by an *armed force*.

See pamphlet, and D. Campbell, on the Articles of Charge against Lord Wellesley.

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* Vide Remarks *on the Husbandry and internal Commerce of Bengal*, 48. 63. 56. 61. 65. 69. 83, 84. Strictly speaking, the Ryot's payment was, heretofore, a contribution to the State, levied by Zemindars, officers standing between the Ryot and Government. The Ryot had a title by occupancy, in right of which he might retain the land, without reference to the will and approbation of a superior, as long as he continued to pay the rent in conformity with the custom of the country, or with his own particular engagement, subject, however, to contribution for the support of the State. Some say, that Ryot signifies subject; others, a cultivator.

During these troubles, which preceded the Company's acquisition of the Dewanny, arbitrary power* respected neither prescriptive rights nor established usages. Unable to realise the "revenue for "which they engaged, if they adhered to the rules by which the "payments of occupants had been hitherto regulated, the Zemin-"dars disregarded usage and engagements, and imposed taxes at "pleasure, which they enforced by violence and coercion. Occu-"pants had recourse to the desperate remedy of emigration. Their "harvest and private property were confiscated; and the practice of "assessing on the remaining cultivators, the deficiency arising from "desertion, became general." The effects of such despotic measures might have been easily foreseen. In this multiplication of demands, the confusion of the country increased, "while the sole ob-"ject of one party was to extort, and of the other, as much as pos-"sible, to withhold. Weakness will ever oppose cunning to vio-"lence; hence arose that habitual breach of faith, the remains of "which are yet perceivable."

Remarks, p. 83.

Remarks on the Husbandry of Bengal, p. 84.

The management first adopted under the British authority had no tendency to restore order. In endeavouring to unravel the intricate details of the revenue, difficulties arose at every step; and it was long ere a system could be "adopted of withdrawing from direct in-"terference with the occupants, and leaving them (under the stipu-

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* The victory at Plassey, 1757, made the English the arbiters of the succession to the Nabobship of Bengal. After the deposition of Jaffier Ally, 1760, Cossim Ally, plotting against the English, fled to Oude, and joined his arms with the Nabob's, in the battle of Buxar, 1764. In 1765 Clive resumed the Government of Bengal, and obtained from Shah Allum and the Nabob Vizir a grant of the Dewanny or administration of the revenues of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, on condition of paying the Great Mogul, who was to reside in the fortress of Allahabad, 260,000l. per annum. Corah and Allahabad were alone retained of the British conquests from the Nabob of Oude, and these were given to the Mogul. Jaffier Ally had been deposed, under the pretence of debility: was restored in 1763, and died in 1765.

Rennel, M. M. Hindostan, p. 94-95.

" lation of equitable assessments) to rent their fields from land-
" lords, and thus correcting the abuses and evils, which had for-
" merly rendered the situation of the cultivator so precarious."

It is the want of this liberal system, which has chiefly prevented the people of Asia from improving their agriculture and mechanical arts; the insecurity of property has rendered the Asiatic indifferent to the improvements of nations more free; he " is contented with his " own rude implements, inadequate to the purpose for which they " are formed, and requiring much superfluous labour; he rests sa-" tisfied with an ignorant husbandry which exhausts the land, and " neglects the obvious means of maintaining its fertility, and of " reaping immediate profit from the operations which might re-" store it."

" The felicity of nations is proportioned to the degree in which " every citizen is safe, and is most perfect where every ingenious or " innocent effect of the human mind is encouraged; where govern-" ment devolves on the wise, and where the inoffensive, though " weak, is secure." Whatever was the condition of Indian property before the conquest of Tamerlane, the arbitrary appointments of Baber added little to its security; nor did the generous and mild endeavours of Akber, to soften the miseries under which the people laboured, extend far beyond his own reign. The prevailing maxim of eastern policy seems ever to have been, to keep the subordinate authorities dependent on the sovereign will, that all power shall originate and vest in the prince; and that no family, by its hereditary rank or property, should be raised above imperial controul. " It annihilates all other ranks of men, in order to exalt the monarch; " it leaves nothing to the former, while it gives every thing to the " latter; it endeavours to fix in the minds of those who are subject " to it, the idea of no relation between them, but that of *a* master " and of *a* slave, the former destined to command and to punish, " the latter forced to tremble and to obey." In countries thus

Robertson, Charles V. sect. iii. Vol. I. p. 225.

governed, the humblest situations are often the most happy; though these are not always exempt from the caprice and exactions of masters often more severe and tyrannical than the sovereign himself. If an estate was transmitted in regular descent, the security of this privilege must have been liable to continual interruptions, under a government unable at all times to enforce its own decrees, and whose authority was subdivided among so many petty despots. Religion was also made a cover for the most shameless usurpations: the Koran decided in civil, as well in as religious cases, for the Musulman; though the corruption of the judges*, and their deviation from the letter of their own laws and commentaries, when prompted either by interest or bribe, would naturally render him averse to refer his interest to such a tribunal. The Hindus, indeed, were not better secured from injury by the doubtful interpretation of their own institutes; nor were social order and tranquillity more firmly established by the moral and religious sanctions of their sacred books. Sir W. Jones, to whose indefatigable labours, India, and the civilized world, owe the highest obligations, speaks in the strongest terms of the profligacy of a people, whom anarchy, superstition, and distress, had driven to the commission of crimes the most abhorrent from humanity, and which were even condemned, by a solemn ordination of the Hindus themselves, as repugnant to the spirit of their Sastras†. We are told, that it was a common practice to bring children in open boats for sale at Calcutta; and, in justification, it was pretended, that the children had been rescued from death, or sold by their own parents for a measure of rice; but where such a barbarous custom had been sanctioned by time and the silence of the law, like the Chinese Infanticide, it was not difficult to find ex-

Sir W. Jones, Vol. III. p. 12.

* The Mullah in religious, the Cadi in civil disputes.

† A Sastra generally signifies an ordinance delivered by inspiration. Properly this word is only applied to sacred literature.

cuses and palliations for every species of unnatural cruelty. In one of his charges to the juries in Calcutta, Sir William asserts, that so little regard was paid to oaths, either by Mahomedans or Hindus, that unless certain particular forms were resorted to and strictly preserved, this solemn obligation was of little effect; and that even affidavits were publickly offered for sale in the markets for every imaginable fact. In another charge, he speaks of the open violation of the laws in respect to perjury, and recommends that the persons should be sworn under new and more terrible sanctions of their own religious places of worship; such as the sacred fire brought from some more revered altar, or pagoda. The Musulmen he altogether gives up, as having nothing more solemn or sacred to adjure, than what they had so constantly forsworn. "The ceremony of an oath," says Mr. Forster, "is esteemed among the present race of Maho-"medans a shallow trite artifice, and is only adopted by those who, "from a want of stronger resources, are driven to the necessity of "adopting secondary aids."—Vol. I. p. 167.

Vol. III. p. 14.

Ibid. p. 21.

The removal of such flagrant enormities called loudly for British interference; and the gratitude of the natives has been awakened by the justice and liberality of their conquerors. It is impossible, indeed, but that as all classes feel the value of peace and security, they will not be insensible to the mildness of that government, from whose influence and direction they are derived. The Indians no longer live under the yoke of Mahomedan princes enervated by excessive indulgences, indifferent to the wants of their subjects, or leaving their property or very existence a prey to the licentious caprices of inferior tyrants *. To those unhappy sufferers whom tyranny† has molested,

* The Armenians and others were also notoriously guilty of subornation and perjury.

† In India, as it is at present in China, the executive administration was so faulty, that the man in office generally had it in his power to govern the laws; which made the measure of good and evil depend greatly on his moral character.

Barrow's China, p. 250.

the Courts of Justice are now more freely open; their complaints are heard with patience, and redressed with equity *. Do their religious institutes, or legal commentaries, possess any merit, or any way concern the matter litigated, they may still enjoy them in their fullest extent, and have besides the ample privileges and jurisprudence of the most free and enlightened people on the globe? Thus the English law may serve to temper the severity of the Mahomedan and Gentoo codes; whilst the cause is heard, and the sentence pronounced by a judge, whose voice should not be controuled by the power of the government, and whose native honour and exalted station place him above the suspicions of collusion, or the temptations of bribery.

Evils, it is not denied, may still exist; let us, however, hope that they are only such as the lenient hand of time, and a better knowledge of the natives, may easily remove or remedy. If the general condition of the people immediately subject to the government be improved, or their happiness increased, they owe it, in a great measure, to their connection with this country; and whatever prejudices may still exist in the minds of the native princes against the British dominion, they may perhaps be softened by acts of gentleness and moderation, and even be converted into principles of respect, alliance, and friendship. Independent of the great question of the justice and policy

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* Both justice and policy required that the Hindus and Mahomedans should be governed by all that they held sacred of their own codes: these were the rules of their conduct and engagements in civil life, previous to the British establishment. It would have therefore been a grievous oppression to have superseded them by a system of which they could have no knowledge, and which they must have considered as imposed on them by a spirit of rigour and intolerance. As the natives become reconciled to the British Government, the spirit of their own codes will yield to the influence of a freer system. Great improvements were made in the judicial code by Lord Cornwallis and the Marquis Wellesley. Provision was made for the study of Gentoo and Mahomedan law, and civilians of integrity and talents were appointed to the supreme courts of appeal and final sentence, who were empowered to act independent of the executive government.

of the late wars in India, the British empire in the East has hitherto contended with difficulties and dangers, which it seemed impossible to surmount; nor could the advantages of its government be perfectly estimated in a period of continued war; tranquillity and repose were necessary to the amelioration of the natives, and experience alone could point out means appropriate to their manners and necessities. The nature of the country has been since more amply explored; the character of the natives, their religion and laws, have been the objects of research with men of the highest talents. Indian literature has been successfully cultivated; the arts and sciences have found generous and enlightened patrons, and the ground has been prepared for the establishment of a more liberal political arrangement upon the ruins of former incomplete and absurd systems.

No nation upon earth has ever held so important and commanding a station as Great Britain in the East. Rapid conquests have led the Persian, the Macedonian, the Afghan, and the Tartar, into the heart of India. The Patans and the Tartars alone settled with the people they had conquered; their rude countrymen were attracted by the mildness of the climate and the fertility of the soil; and, under the protection of the kings of their own race, were admitted to wealth and honours. But among the European nations, who, since the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, have visited the East, except the first brilliant exploits of the Portuguese, the rapid marches of M. Bussy, and the short-lived power of Dupleix, the English have alone assumed and maintained an undisputed sovereignty. The Moors, though now settled in India for many centuries, are still numerically inferior to the native inhabitants in the proportion of ten to one. The proportion of the English is infinitely smaller; but the superiority of discipline, the excellency of civil and political institutions, and the dread and reverence attached in the minds of the people, generally peaceable and unwarlike, to the memory of former and recent victories,

may, under a wise government, serve to counteract the force of any evil consequences to be expected from such a disparity of numbers. The natives, it is said, have been taught to look up to the English as to a superior power, and to ascribe this superiority to the peculiar favour of heaven; and when those improvements shall have taken place, which are warranted by necessity and every plea of natural justice; when the evils of former despotisms are removed and forgotten, the people will more readily accommodate themselves to European habits; suspicion will be hushed, and they will then see in the cares and benevolent arrangements of a provident government, that the object of their sovereign is not merely ambition, avarice, or plunder, but the diffusion of public prosperity and private happiness.

If we bear in mind that the probable design of Providence is, consonant to his nature, so far as we are acquainted with it from his works and the history of man, namely, the happiness of his creatures, it cannot be for a moment doubted, that the extensive power which has fallen to the share of Great Britain, would not have been bestowed, unless for the best and wisest purposes; and, although this argument may be very differently applied in cases of recent occurrence; it would perhaps be more prudent to wait the result of events which have not yet ceased to operate, before we presume to decide against a rule, which has for its sanction the evidence of history and analogy.

Be it our care, in the discharge of such a momentous trust, to avoid, by all means, the slightest imputation of "injustice among "those whom it is our lot to rule; and, by giving them personal "security, with every reasonable indulgence to their harmless pre-"judices, conciliate their affection by promoting their happiness." The greatest of human blessings is, "Good laws duly administered "in settled power;" for "neither can the best laws avail without a

Sir W. Jones, Vol. III. p. 15.

" due administration of them; nor could they be dispensed with " effect, if the fears and prejudices of men were engaged by the " vicissitudes of war, or the agitation of civil discontents."

Splendid and extensive conquests have been often achieved without producing any real advantage to the conqueror. There is, indeed, nothing so easy as to disturb the peace of the world, and unsettle the order of human affairs. " Power alone, without a particle of skill, " or a ray of genius, can do more mischief in one day than wisdom " or industry can repair in a century." " It appears that the " original character of the British Government originated not in " wrong or rapine; the seed of this wonderful production was sown " by the hand of calamity; it was nourished by fortune; and though " its first existence was purely commercial, it obtained in its growth " the sudden accession of military strength and territorial dominion, " to which its political adjunct was inevitable." " From the eleva- " tion it has now acquired, it is impossible to descend. Our posses- " sions in India are almost become a part of our existence as a " nation; to abandon them, impossible; to maintain them, a per- " petual struggle with the native powers, and the powers of Europe, " to support them. It requires all the vigilance of government, " and all the vigour of the controuling power, to take care that " the natives should not be discontented under our empire; and " that the nations of Europe should not be outraged by our ap- " proach to monopoly." No longer supporting the humble character of adventurers, the British nation is imperiously called upon through the medium of its public servants, to the performance of more sacred and solemn duties. Whatever may have been the pleas of former aggression, the necessity of conquest has long ceased; unless with a Roman policy we wish, by universal division, to promote universal empire; and our justice and our faith are alike pledged to secure to a people, whom we have rescued from the hard yoke of servitude and oppression, a portion of those civil and religious blessings

Francis.

Hastings Memoirs.

Vincent's Periplus, Part II. p. 540.

which constitute our pride and prerogative, and are the fundamental pillars of our national superiority and independence.

If the power and happiness of a nation depended solely upon its riches, then the means of their accumulation could not be too eagerly or too exclusively the object of pursuit; but as "Riches give scope to "evil passions, and where obtained by injustice argue the presence of "such passions, they are a symptom of misery rather than of happi-"ness; they are productive of prodigality, licentiousness, and brutal "sensuality." Such was the misery, not the felicity of Rome; and such has been the fate of every nation, whose government is regulated upon no wiser principles. It were folly, "therefore, to congratulate a "nation upon the measure of its opulence, the extent of its territory, "the multiplicity of its conquests, or the profusion of wealth that may "run to waste in its capital, without regard to the origin and use of "these advantages. The serious affairs of the world are to be governed "by prudence; the essential interests of mankind can only be pro-"vided for by sound and sober judgment, animated by benevolence. "This enlightened benevolence will be found, upon experiment, the "only sure and solid self-wisdom, when the visions and chimæras of "cruel vanity have disappeared, and left nothing behind them but "sorrow, disappointment, and ruin.

Ferguson's Moral Science, Vol. II. p. 501.

Francis on the Mahratta War, p. 74.

Let our attention be now directed to objects of higher moment than the petty details of commercial regulation, or the preservation of an envious monopoly; let that benevolence, which is the sublime character of our religion, and that freedom, which is the basis of our laws, be extended, as far as circumstances will admit, to the natives of the East, who are more immediately under our protection.

If long and successful wars have consigned to our care a numerous and industrious people, a country the most rich and abundant on the habitable globe; if we have improved by the introduction of foreign wealth, and our population be increased by the accession of new arts of manufacture, and fresh sources of commerce, let

us not be unmindful of such benefits; but remember, that it is both our duty and our interest to communicate a share in our advantages to a people from whom we derive so many, and whose happiness is now so intimately blended with our own national prosperity.

It may at first be difficult to wean the Indians from habits so long established; but these difficulties are not insuperable; the gratitude of the relieved must attend on those who have lightened their suffering; and the Hindus will perceive that the improvement of their condition, the extension of their rights, and the enjoyment of a more durable peace, have originated in the salutary exertions of British power and influence.

The happiness of individuals and of nations consists in the proper employment of their faculties. If virtue, therefore, and a moderate enjoyment of the benefits which nature affords, are the foundations of rational happiness, and the cultivation of these is the duty of every individual, who is anxious for the welfare of his species; no one will be found to deny the necessity incumbent upon all good governments, to promote them amongst their subjects by every possible means.

Civil government cannot long exist, nor can happiness attend upon any people, where the habits of virtue are despised, and the mind is unacquainted with that knowledge, which enables man clearly to discern why he is called into existence, what is due to others, and what to himself.

Had the happiness of the natives only, so far as it regards order and good government, been the ostensible motive of our present inquiry, the comparison of the state of the country under its ancient and modern tyrants with its present situation, would afford sufficient proof of the advantages of the change.

In the history of the world, conquest has sometimes benefited a nation by subjecting it to a tyrant less rigorous than the former; but the conquest of India by the British arms affords the only instance of freedom by subjection to a foreign power.

Rapid changes in any government cannot be effected without some inconveniences: "the great strokes that decide the fate of empires "necessarily involve the ruin of individuals; even the government "of the world is conducted by general laws, and partial evil is "blended with public good." These inconveniences have, however, fallen lightly upon the Hindus, and have been rather caused by the precipitate counsels of their princes, than the cruelty or oppression of their English conquerors. India has already improved under the British dominion; and as the people become reconciled to the change of masters, their prejudices will insensibly wear away, and the happiness which is now felt in the countries nearest the capital, will be diffused through the remotest provinces. With the improvement of the arts and sciences, and the blessings of a lenient government, a more important revolution may be effected in the manners and habits of the people; and what mistaken and unenlightened zeal is now endeavouring imprudently to enforce, may, under the influence of good council, and the still more powerful hand of time, be easily superinduced. Roused from the apathy occasioned by the continued exactions and tyranny of a feeble government, the Hindus will turn their attention to the causes which have contributed to the superiority of their conquerors. In the progress of time, and under an improved culture, they will necessarily be taught to inquire into the foundations of their own national institutions; the Brahmins themselves will perceive the necessity of some change, as their countrymen advance in knowledge; with the remembrance of former despotisms, the links of religious servitude will be broken; the reign of superstition will yield to the influence of a purer worship; the love of truth will at length prevail; and the British nation, in return for its former crimes and mismanagement, may be made the instrument in the diffusion of both civil and religious happiness over the fairest portion of the globe.

PART II.

CHAP. I.

STATE OF THE HINDUS, ZEAL OF THE MAHOMEDANS TO CONVERT THEM, SUPERIORITY OF CHRISTIANITY, ORIGIN OF SUPERSTITION, SABAISM, SYMBOLS, DÆMONS, EVIDENCES OF A PURER WORSHIP.

FROM the political state of India, under its ancient and modern sovereigns, the next point for consideration is the religious opinions professed by the natives. The subject would certainly admit of the most ample discussion; but it is only intended to give such a sketch of it as will enable the reader to form a clearer estimate of the present moral habits of the people, of the strength of their religious prejudices, and of the reasonableness and probable success of those attempts which have recently been made, to introduce amongst them the light of the Gospel.

For more than fifty years the British nation has been in possession of a considerable controul in the East, and it is naturally inquired what steps have been hitherto taken for the benefit of the natives. On one side, we hear nothing but the language of crimination and the bodings of despair; on the other, we are told to look up with confidence, that India is prosperous and happy, and that the heavy

complaints brought against the State are founded either in error or calumny.

From a government, whose attention has been principally engaged in the details of war and commerce, in a country, whose ancient records and language have hitherto been imperfectly explored, whose surface is divided amongst tribes varying essentially in language, manners, and religious institutions, little more may have, perhaps, been expected than the faithful administration of justice, the supply of the products for the European markets, or the provident care of the wants of those who, living near the Presidencies, and engaged either as its servants or immediate subjects, acted under a more particular notice.

In examining the history of the world, it does not appear that the ancient colonies which quitted the parent state devoted much time, or made it an essential point of duty to impose the religion which they brought with them upon the people amongst whom they settled. The great conquerors of antiquity appear to have placed little stress upon the propagation of their own peculiar worship. The general religion of the age was Polytheism; and to enrol a foreign deity upon the pantheon of the catalogue, excited no murmur, and was an object neither of difficulty nor danger. Except the destruction of the Magi*, for the deceit and cruelties of Smerdis, and the furious zeal

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* In the invasion of Greece, the Persians destroyed the temples. Zoroaster had allowed the covering in of the fire-altars, but the Persian worship was still chiefly performed in the open air and on the tops of hills. Alexander, according to the Guebres, endeavoured to destroy all the Magian books. The Princes of the Sassanian line, and the Generals of Omar, did the same, collecting them with great industry, in order to burn them. "Admistâ superstitione," says Hyde, "veri Dei "cultores fuerunt, Idolatrica Græcorum templa vastantes, utpote qui putarent "Deum qui totum mundum implet, inter angustos Templi Parietes contineri et com-"prehendi non posse."

See on the Magi, p. 157.

Relig. Vet. Persar.

of Cambyses, who destroyed the Ægyptian Apis, religious persecution was unknown; and such opinions were professed or adopted, as were most agreeable to the judgment of the philosopher, or the fancies of the people.

The introduction of Christianity altered the face of the world; the detestation of idolatry, excited in the breasts of its early converts, kindled the hatred of the idolators. Christianity, at first persecuted, returned, in the hour of prosperity, the evil on its oppressors; and the secular power was armed in all its terrors against the assailants of what was now become the national faith.

The law of Mahomed, which was every where propagated by the sword, was death, tribute, or the Koran; nor does the rapid and successful progress of its doctrines afford any matter for astonishment, when it is reflected that they chiefly operated upon a people whose former religious notions were vague and undefined, who had few customs or rites to attach either respect or devotion, and who assimilated in manners, or kindred, with its early advocates.

The Afghans and the northern nations of India, inhabiting the neighbourhood of Cabul and Candahar, the gates of India towards Tartary and Persia, though idolators, yet appearing to have no religious establishment resembling that of the southern nations, were more easily induced to become Mahomedans: but the Koran never advanced beyond the Indus; neither the fury of Mahmoud of Gazna, in his march into the Guzzurat, his destruction of Naugracut, Mathura, and Sumnaut—the most revered places of Hindu worship; and the barbarities which were exercised upon the defenceless Brahmins, nor the terrors and promises of the Afghan and Mogul Princes, from the reign of Cuttub to the invasion of Timur, could induce the Hindus to renounce the religion of their fathers, or forswear those altars, which custom and antiquity had clothed with their veneration. The experience of all ages has generally shewn that the effects of persecution, even in the worst religions, have been

contrary to the calculations of the persecutors, and that immoderate zeal in destroying obnoxious modes of worship, has only served to rebuild them on a firmer basis. "Zeal, unless it be rightly guided, "when it endeavours most busily to please God, forceth upon him "those unreasonable offices which please him not; zeal, except it be "ordered aright, when it bends itself into conflict with all things, "either in deed, or but imagined to be opposite to religion, uses "the razor many times with such eagerness, that the very life of re- "ligion is itself thereby hazarded."

Hooker, Eccles. Pol. p. 193.

But though neither reason, experience, nor charity, will for a moment justify the efforts of cruel and mistaken zeal; though the very essence of the Christian religion rests in a willing, not a compulsory service; yet do not the interests it embraces become less important, nor is the duty of spreading it abroad by every reasonable means, among nations lost in the darkness of Paganism, less urgent upon those who are already enlightened by its influence. The reasonableness and urgency of this duty are indeed paramount considerations; more especially, if it be remembered that the very idea of subjection includes in it a sense of imbecility; that when a people have renounced or exchanged their former allegiance, it becomes instantly obligatory upon the new sovereign to blend their interest with his own, to soften every national prejudice, to direct the current of popular opinion by wholesome laws and gentle treatment, and to free the public mind from every bondage, not essentially interfering with civil subordination. The whole design of civil government is to procure the public and private happiness of mankind; it is an expedient to restrain men from all those things which would make them miserable and guilty to themselves, and unpeaceable and troublesome to the world. Magistrates are, therefore, concerned to maintain the honour of religion, not only as it is the firmest support and best institution of civil government, but as it is the surest pledge and earnest of the temporal prosperity of a nation. Religion, where-

ever it is truly planted, is certainly the greatest obligation upon conscience to all civil offices and moral duties. It will requite all the kindness and honour that can be paid to it, by the advantages it will bring in its train, and by the blessings it will draw down upon its practice. "There is no good prince makes laws with any other de- Tillotson's Works.
"sign than to promote the happiness and public welfare of his "people, and with much more reason may it be imagined that the "infinitely good God designs, by his laws, the happiness of his "creatures. He has promised that those who honour him, he will "honour; and in the common course of his providence, this is "usually made good: so that the civil authority ought to be very "tender of the honour of God and religion, if for no other reason, "yet out of reason of state."

If religion, therefore, generally considered, be found so essentially to conduce to the happiness of this life, and if no government can be formed or long continue without its sanctions, this argument will apply with still higher force, in its relation to the hopes and prospects of a future state. Men have in all ages entertained or consented to some confused principles of the immortality of the soul, and the recompences of another world, and have always promised themselves some rewards of piety and virtue after this life; but the Christian religion alone has settled men in a firm and unshaken assurance of these hopes; it is alone qualified to satisfy the anxious thoughts and perceptions of the soul, which, convinced of the meanness and corruption of this short and dying state, and conscious to itself of its own immaterial nature, aspires after a happiness in perfection and duration, commensurate to its own character and expectations. Revealed religion has alone given a just and perfect idea of that Being, whom every reasonable creature ought to imitate. The Heathens might justify the commission of any crime in the examples of their most favoured Divinities; but revealed religion sets forth a proper object for imitation, in that Being, who is the pattern, as well as the

source of all spiritual perfection. The histories of the most polished nations of antiquity, the evidence of the disgusting ceremonies of the eastern Pagans, plainly declare, that natural light and primitive tradition (the two only remedies for the sins and mischiefs of the human passions) could not avail to cure them. The Heathens wandered, and they still continue to wander in a darkness, the necessary effects of their imperfect knowledge of the Deity; their earnest inquiries and restless studies only produced dissatisfaction and perplexity of mind; and, deluded in all their reasonings and disputes, the truth was involved in mystery and obscurity. Whatever charms may exist in virtue, Christianity has placed in the strongest light, and adorned with all her native attractions, "kindling a new fire in the "soul, by adding to them the unutterable rewards which attend her "votaries in an eternal state." If the poorest Christian possesses more advantages and a more refined "understanding than the an-"cient Philosophers, it is owing to the God of truth, who came "down from heaven, and condescended to be himself his teacher. "It is, as we are Christians, that we profess more excellent and di-"vine truths than the rest of mankind."

Addison's Evidences of Christianity, p. 204—210. Duodecimo.

But the consideration of the advantages likely to result from the propagation of the Christian faith among the idolatrous nations of the East, though easily pointed out, will more properly follow, when the obstacles have been detailed that have hitherto retarded its progress, and which, in all human probability, are still likely to prevail, at least for some time, against every effort of zeal, and every encouragement of the State.

The most material of these obstacles have arisen either from the intimate connection of the popular superstitions, with the civil regulations of the State; from the ignorance and bigotry of the Priests; the indolence and oppression of the people, or the vices and despotism of the Government. To these subjects, and to the attempts that have been hitherto made by the Christian powers of Europe,

towards the improvement and civilization of the natives, a considerable part of the following pages will be devoted, in order that a fairer inference may be drawn of the probable means yet remaining, to ensure success to so desirable an object.

To darken the minds and faculties of those she wishes to enslave has ever been the practice of despotism; no handmaid could have yielded her more assistance than superstition; and the observation is almost invariably just, that no country loses its freedom until the powers of the mind have been debased and shackled by the baneful influence of a false religion. Thus the corruption of the best things produces the worst consequences to human happiness, and the very notion of a Supreme Being may, in the hands of designing men, be made subversive of all morality. "It will then be affirmed, not "that such a thing is pleasing to the Gods because it is good, but "that such a thing is good because it is pleasing to the Gods." Raynal's India, Vol. I.

It cannot, however, reasonably be expected that the great bulk of mankind will ever cease, in what regards the concerns of religion, to be guided by their senses rather than their understanding, until the mind has been informed by science, until despotism has yielded to civil liberty, and the reign of error has been annihilated by the force of truth and reason.

The history of superstition is coeval with the first ages of the world; the pure adoration of the Supreme Being was confounded with the impious rites of idolatry long before the deluge, and might have been still more corrupted by some of the descendants of Noah, who, under the name of the Sabian superstition, worshipped the Starry Host*. An ingenious apology has been offered for this practice, as See Appendix No. 6.

* Saba signifies a host, particularly the Host of Heaven, or the Celestial Bodies, in the adoration of which the Sabian ritual is believed to have consisted; the Celestial Bodies were personified in the Genii of Good and Evil. This worship may have been derived from local prejudices, from the comfortless deserts where the day pre- Sale's Prelim. Disc. Koran. Vol. I. p. 20. See Hyde, Rel. Vet. Persar. cap. iii. and v.

the nations of the East, who wandered over immense plains, were accustomed to direct their courses by the stars; their pastoral life led them to observe, that the changes of the weather seemed to happen at their rising and setting; they were thus soon induced to ascribe to them a divine power, and in a country parched up with almost continual drought, they thought themselves indebted to their influence for the benefit and refreshment of the rainy seasons.

Maurice, A. H. Hindostan.

The sons of Misraim, or the philosophical Priests of Egypt, by converting into divinities the mundane elements, and embodying the children of the air and fancy, increased the obscurity of the primitive faith of their fathers. The first learning of the world consisted chiefly of symbols; the wisdom of the most ancient nations that is handed down to us, is symbolical. These symbols, in the imperfection of early knowledge, and in the ignorance of rude ages, supplied the place of letters, and the traditions of antiquity were either committed to the memory, or were rudely figured in hieroglyphics. In the lapse of time, traditions were insensibly corrupted; the symbol usurped the station of the sign or idea it represented; the public worship was entrusted to the charge of men who were poets* and histori-

Symbols.

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sents nothing to the view, but the uniformly tedious and melancholy prospect of barren rocks and sands; whereas, the night is for the most part unclouded and serene, and exhibits to the wondering eye the Host of Heaven in all their glory and variety.

Perhaps the varied and elegant form of the Greek superstitions may be attributed to the beautiful and varied aspect of their country, where every valley, fountain, grove, and river, were tenanted by invisible deities.

See, on the Sabian worship, Prideaux's Connections, Vol. I. Part III. p. 249. Cudworth's Intellectual System, Sale's Koran, Origines Sacræ, Book I. ch. iii. "Gens Zabia erat gens quæ implevit totum orbem." Maimon. ex do.

Herod. Lib. II. Sect. 50—58.

* Hesiod and Homer were not the authors, but the improvers of the Greek Theogony. They gave the Gods names, honours, employments, and effigies. Egypt or Phœnicia were the parent sources of the oracles, the deities, and the superstitious rites of Greece.

ans, as well as priests; and thus the truths of religion were soon blended with fiction. In this state of incertitude, fear came in aid of imagination; the light of the understanding was darkened; and men, unable to determine what manner of service was most pleasing to the Deity, tried all things which their fancy offered, "and dreamed of as many guides of nature, as they saw there "were kinds of things natural in the world: these they honoured, "as having power to work or cease, accordingly as men deserved of "them." Hooker, Ecc. Pol.

Superstition must always be joined with a wrong apprehension of the divine nature, and thus objects were either abhorred or observed, as they seemed to bear to it a zealous or fearful, but erroneous relation; the divine attributes, and the natural qualities of things proving the basis of a system, which usurped the place of the primitive religion. In history and fact, however, this is certain; that some common notions, though extremely gross and erroneous, almost universally prevailed among those who differed extremely in the particular forms and modes of their worship; for, whatever differences may be effected on the human frame, by the influence of laws and climate, the mind seems, in all cases, to be more or less affected with zeal or fear, in all that regards the doctrines of a Deity and a future state.

Of good and evil spirits.

The memory of the fall of man was preserved among all the prevailing systems of the East; and throughout the world, some traditions were handed down of good and evil beings, of angels and fallen spirits, who had rebelled against the Supreme. With the remembrance of this unhappy event, the mind of the whole primæval world was deeply and sorrowfully impressed, and their detestation of the grand deluder of mankind broke forth, under the name of the Evil Principle, on every occasion on which it could be signally displayed. Maurice A. H. Hindostan.

The Egyptians, by their Typhon*, or Great Dragon, designated that power, continually at war with the Αγαθοδαιμων, or Good Demon. In the Persian Astronomical Theology, the bane of man, or the malignant genius, who, under the name of Ahriman, produced his fall, is represented under the form of a serpent; and the constellation of the serpent (Draco) in the heavens, is called the Serpent of Eve: he is considered as the source of all evil, and the grand fomenter of mischief—the cause of every thing that is noxious in nature, and calamitous to mankind.

Maurice's Works. Prideaux Connections. Hyde's Relig. Vet. Persar.

The Satya age of the Brahmins is the age of perfection, and is supposed to be allusive to Paradise, when men were just and virtuous, and the Gods condescended to live and converse with mortals. This was the Golden or Saturnian Age. With the Hindus, Seeva is the avenging or destroying Deity—the Ahriman of the Persian Dualists. They have also their "Indra† (the Platonick Jupiter the

Strabo, Lib. XV.

Hyde, Vet. Rel. Persar. cap. ix. Sir William Jones.

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* Le Typhon des Egyptiens sortant du Lac Sarbonide, et consumant tout de son haleine empoisonnée, est il autre chose que le venin du Serpent Adisséchen? L'Ambroisie n'est il pas L'Amourdon? Amourdon is the drink of Immortality, taken by Veeshnu from the Assoors or Giants. Adisséchen is the serpent used by the Gods at the instigation of Veeshnu, to churn the sea of milk with the Mountain Mandrégor, to recover the Amourdon. The Amrut Sir of the Seiks is the water bestowing immortality on those who drink it.

Sonnerat. See his Plates, and those of Maurice.

Forster's Trav. Vol. I. p. 258. Sir W. Jones, Vol. VI. p. 388.

† Indra, like the Genius or Agathodæmon of the ancients, is supposed to preside over the celestial bands that are stationed in a particular quarter of the heavens, and to solace the Gods with Nectar (Amrut.)

The Socratic Dæmon, or Genius of Socrates, was only a spirit presiding over any individual; it might be either good or evil. "Apud veteres Græcos nullum extat Diaboli nomen," nec de eo aliqua mala notio, ut Spurci aut Nequam: at Pluto habitus est Inferorum Gubernator satis honorabilis qui sicut Lictor præest Pœnis irrogandis."

Hyde, Vet. Rel. Pers. cap. ix.

In Sonnerat's Relation of the Hindu Triad, he speaks of Brahma as the author of this feud in heaven—"Son orgueil causa sa disgrace," &c.

Vol I. p. 152.

It is said, that the Ceylonese who are converted to Christianity cannot get rid of their terrors from these subordinate Deities or Dæmons, whom the peasantry in the Interior

Percival's Ceylon, chap. ix.

"Conductor) the God of the Immortals, of Thunder, and the five "Elements, with an army of inferior Genii under his command," reigning in the regions of light and beauty*; whilst the Assoors, or evil Genii, who, under Seshanaga, the Prince of Serpents, tenant the Patálá, or nether world of darkness and horror, war against the Saints of Light, and seek to take their heaven by violence. The Dewtas of the Hindus seem to be the same with the Numina, Genii Dæmons, the Spirits and Fairies of other idolators. The Chaldæans had their good and bad planets; the Greeks their Ζευς and Αδης. Every nation of the world had its benevolent or malignant Deity†, its preserver, Ormusd (Oromasdes, or Mithra), and its destroyer, Ahriman (Arimanius); the mild and gentle Veeshnu, or the angry and implacable Seeva. Many of the Greek Pagans entertained notions of "the Satanic power similar to those acknowledged "by the Christian world." Of the same nature, amongst the Siamese Talapoins, and some of the Malabar and Ceylonese tribes, is the Sommonacodon and his apostate brother, Thevatat; the former being the author of all that is good, and the latter of all that is mischievous and evil‡. Thus the Greek fabulists narrate the war of the

Cudworth Intellect. Syst.
Percival's Ceylon, c. ix.

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propitiate with offerings. The Malabars do the same. The Dæmons are looked up to as the spirits of the wicked, as the inferior deities are considered to be the souls of good men. Both, however, are supposed to be under the permission and controul of the Supreme. (Vide Append.)

* The Consort of Seeva is represented as mounted on a lion, and combating with the Indian Minotaur in the form of a buffalo. This, it is urged, is only the picture of Virtue warring against Vice. The spirit springs from the headless trunk of the buffalo—a human form upwards from the waist, and renews the combat; verifying the Proteus-like versatility of Sin. "Vindication of Hindus," 1808.

† The Æthiopians, says Strabo, have a God whom they believe to be the Cause of all things, immortal, and another without name, "ανώνυμον τινα," mortal, and difficult to be comprehended, "καὶ ἡ σαφῆ." Lib. XVII.

‡ The modern Curdestan, the country of the Carduchi of Xenophon, is inhabited by tribes, who, though tributaries to Turkey, and professing Mahomedanism, pay

Titans, contending for the sovereignty of the globe. The mighty Dragon is here opposed to Minerva—Wisdom, or the supreme Mind, who assails and destroys him; and perhaps "the Garden of the "Hesperides, guarded by the same allegorical monster, may allude "to the traditionary accounts of Paradise and its forbidden fruit."

Maurice, A. H. Hindostan.

These traditions have been ascribed to some obscure accounts of the revolt of the angelic bands—the fall of man, and the great contests between the patriarchal families of Shem and Ham for the empire of the infant world; they have been also resolved into the observations of astronomy, or the phænomena of nature: but whether it is believed, with Newton, that ancient mythology was nothing but historical truth in a poetical dress; or affirmed, with Bacon, that it consisted solely of moral and metaphysical allegories; or with Bryant, that all the Heathen Divinities were only different attributes and representations of the Sun, or deceased progenitors; it will be sufficient to have proved that such opinions were early prevalent, and the foundations of those systems*, upon which the several creeds of mankind were originally built. Add to this, that the Greeks, in their ambitious desire to be thought the inventors of all science, en-

Sir W. Jones's Dissertation Asiatic Society.

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very little respect to the orders of the Porte or its officers, or the religious opinions of the Koran. In the Diarbekir there are some Curds distinguished by the name of Yazdia, who worship Shaitan, or Satan, the evil genius. This notion is certainly a relic of the good and evil principle of the Magians. See Hyde Relig. Vet. Persar. Appendix, l. 2.

Volney Syria, Vol. I. p. 375.

Before the time of Mahomed, the Pagan Arabs worshipped an intermediate species of beings, usually called Genii, angels or devils. From their vicinity to Persia, they had adopted many of the Magian opinions. According to this system, the devil was a sort of Creator, being opposed, as the author of evil, to the good principle, or author of good.

Sale's Koran, Vol. I. p. 28. Prelim. Disc. & p. 174. Hyde Relig. Vet. Persar. cap. ix.

* Cudworth endeavours to prove that all the various names of the Gods were only denominations of the One Supreme—the Genius, Great Mind, and Soul of the World.

Intellect. Syst.

deavoured to bury the history of astronomy in entire oblivion, and concealed its manifest allusions, under an impenetrable veil of mystery and fable, the vivacity and beauty of which kept alive the delusion.

"The wise and learned among the very Heathens themselves have "all, however, acknowledged some first Cause, whereupon originally the being of all things depends; neither have they otherwise spoken of that Cause, than as an agent which, knowing what "and why it worketh, observes in working a most exact order or "law. Thus much is signified by the Διὸς διὰ παντὸς βουλή of Homer; "thus much is acknowledged by Mercurius Trismegistus Τὸν πάντα "κόσμον ἐποίησεν ὁ δημιουργὸς, οὐ χερσὶν, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ—." "The Creator made the "whole world not with hands, but by reason." Thus much is confessed "by Anaxagoras and Plato—terming the Maker of the world "an intellectual worker," ποιητὴν, καὶ πατέρα τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς "the Maker "and Father of the universe." He is also called the Divum Pater, the Θεὸς Θεῶν πατὴρ ἦν, the God and Father of the Gods, the Author, Preserver, and Governor of all things. Hooker, Ecc. Pol. p. 71. Plato in Timæ.

The Stoicks, like the disciples of Zoroaster, imagined the first Cause of all things to be fire; yet they held that the same fire, having art, Ὁδῷ βαδίζειν ἐπὶ γενέσει κόσμου, "proceeded by a certain and a set "way in the making of the world."

The Disciples of Confucius, adopting many of the opinions of the "Stoicks, considered the whole universe as one animated system, made "up of one material substance and one spirit, of which every living "thing was an emanation, and to which, when separated by death "from the material part it had animated, every living thing again "returned." Barrow's Chin. p. 458.

Brahma, the great Deity of the Hindus, is said to have emanated from the Eternal Essence; who, in the language of the Bhâgvat Gheeta, is supposed to "be every where always," and by his immediate agency the world was created. "Being immaterial, he is Dow's Dissertation, Ind. Hist.

" above all conception, being invisible, he can have no form; but " from what we behold in his works, we may conclude that he is " eternal, omnipotent, knowing all things, and present every " where." " God is one Creator of all that is—God is like a " perfect sphere, without beginning or end—the Eternal One ab- " sorbed in the contemplation of his own perfections, in the ful- " ness of time, resolved to participate his own glory and essence " with beings capable of feeling and sharing his beatitude, and of " administering to his glory. These beings then were not—the " Eternal One willed—and they were." Part of the Gáyátri, or Holiest verse of the Vedas*, is on the omniscience, purity, and omnipotence of the Deity. " Let us adore the supremacy of *that Sun* †, " the Godhead, who illuminates all, who recreates all, from whom " all proceed, to whom all must return, whom we invoke to direct " our understanding aright in our progress towards his holy seat." What the sun and light are to this visible world, such are the su- " preme good and truth to the intellectual and invisible world;" and as our corporeal " eyes have a distinct perception of objects " enlightened by the sun; thus our souls acquire certain knowledge, " by meditating on the light of truth, which emanates from the " Being of beings; that is, the Light by which alone our minds " can be directed in the path to rectitude."

Strabo, Lib. XV. Maurice, A. H. Hindost. Vol. I. p. 52.

Sir W. Jones, Vol. VI. p. 417.

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* There are many beautiful and sublime passages in the Vedas, mixed with the favourite notions of spirits and subordinate deities. See Sir W. Jones's Works, Vol. VI. p. 415.

The Peruvians, we are told by Acosta, at the discovery of America, worshipped one chief God, under the name or title of the *Maker of the universe*. See Grotius de Verit. Christianâ.

† Opposed to the *visible* luminary. The Brahmins were enjoined to repeat this holy verse frequently throughout the day. See, on the Brachman Tenets, Strabo, Lib. XV.

God requires that we should honour him with a "pure, and "not a bloody, worship; and to be rendered propitious by the "prayers and humiliations of men*. He is that word itself, by "which he has created the visible world, by which he preserves it, "governs it, and keeps it in being. He is a pure spirit, and con- "sequently requires nothing but the offering of our good works, of "our virtues, and virtuous actions."

CHAP. II.

RELIGION OF THE HINDUS.

But whether the Hindu mythology, which is the more immediate object of these researches, was founded on the dark ænigmas of their astronomers, or the fictions of their poets disguising natural light, it is proved, from the authority of a learned Orientalist, that their history, notwithstanding its claims to a much higher antiquity, cannot be traced farther back than about 2000 years before Christ. Their early historians, as in all infant societies, were their poets, their

Sir W. Jones.

* Nam verbum, Deus est, hoc, mundum creavit, hoc regit & alit omnia. Hoc nos veneramur, hoc diligimus, ex hoc spiritum trahimus, si quidem ipse Deus est atque mens.—Origen attributes to them the same sentiments, in Philosophicis apud Gronov. Antiq. Græc. Tom. X.

Abbé de Guyon, N. Hist. East Indies, Vol. I. p. 42

priests, and their philosophers, and therefore, whatever they relate, is so much enveloped in mystery and fable, that belief is violated, and the path to truth is lost in the mazes of vague and uncertain conjecture.

There is solid ground for believing that the Indians have ingrafted a very considerable portion of Chaldaic and Persian history on their own. The general opinion of the Pundits (or learned men) is, that the laws of Bráhmá were unfolded to his son Menu, in verse or measured prose, and that these were translated and explained to the world in the words of the book which now goes by the name of the Institutes of Menu. The first Menu of the Brahmins was undoubtedly the Adam of the Jews, the Christians, and the Moslems. The Hindus, however, do not possess any records of great events, or ancient revolutions, but what are involved in fiction, or allegory, or refer to ages far beyond all authentic history; and, like the Chinese, they are suspected of having designedly raised their antiquity beyond the truth, in order to exalt their national character. Later discoveries have, in a great measure, justified this suspicion, and proved that the countless *Jogues* and dynasties of both the Hindoo and Chinese chronologists, may easily be resolved into astronomical calculations on the different revolutions of the heavenly bodies. Upon so intricate a question, little information is, therefore, to be gleaned from the stories or commentaries of the Brahmins, who appear to have been more anxious to preserve the records of their superstitions, than to rescue from the ruins of time any data for genuine history; nor do the accounts of either Greek or Latin writers throw a much clearer light upon the subject.

Halhed, Gentoo Code.

Sir W. Jones.

Preface to the Gentoo Code, p. xxxviii.

Maurice's A. H. Hindostan.

Sir W. Jones's Works.

The Mahomedans, in their furious zeal for conversion, were little anxious to preserve the archives of a people, whom they considered and persecuted as idolators; and what escaped their ravages, was either concealed in a language no longer current

in the country, or confined to the breasts of a few learned Brahmins*, who, with the religious mystery of the Magians, cherished its awful secrets in silence and retirement.

From what has, however, been since collected from their sacred records, either by the munificence of Akber, the industry of the European scholar, or the conciliation of the Brahmins, it is ascertained that the Hindus believe the whole earth to have been drowned, as a punishment for the accumulated guilt of the Four Castes, in the reign of the Seventh Menu, surnamed Vaiwaswater†, or the Child of the Sun, who is supposed by Sir W. Jones to be the same with Noah; and that, except this pious prince and his immediate family, (seven Reyshees or Saints, with their wives), the whole human race was destroyed by the Flood ‡.

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* So high a sanctity is attached to the Vedas, and by such religious obligations is the Brahmin bound not to reveal the tenets of his faith, that it was only by a promise of secresy, and with a desire that his name should be concealed, that a Brahmin could be induced to read the original Sanscrit with Sir W. Jones. For a long time all the Pundits refused to procure a Persian translation of it, though pressed to it by the chief magistrate at Benares. This was before Sir William had acquired a knowledge of the Sanscrit. The Pundits (says Mr. Halhed) were resolute to a man in rejecting all his solicitations for instructions in the Sanscrit; the persuasion and influence of the Governor-General were in vain exerted; and it was only by good fortune that he was enabled to meet with a stranger, who was more communicative, and whose mind, enlarged by study and travel, had acquired more liberal sentiments.

Sir W. Jones's Works, Vol. III. p. 59.

Pref. to Gent. Code, p. xxxvi.

† The Hindoo chronology is intimately blended with their theological notions, which are as closely connected with astronomy. To this science they seem to have paid early attention. It is not unusual even for the Rajahs of modern times, of the ancient and sacred dynasties, to claim their descent as Children of the Sun; and this primary denomination has remained to them, notwithstanding the lapse of ages, and the revolutions of the empire.

‡ Mr. Halhed observes, that the calamity of the Flood is never mentioned in the Sastras. The direct contrary is urged by other writers. This destruction of the human race is the subject of their first Puráná, or Sacred Poem; and it is also told in the eighth book of the Bhâgvat Gheeta. See also Sonnerat Voyage aux Indes, Vol. I.

Pref. to Gent. Code, p. xxix.

From this Menu the second family of mankind derives its origin; and it is probably, through the medium of the principal branches of the first great family after the deluge, that the knowledge was obtained and preserved of the birth, fall, destruction, and restoration of the human race.

It has been asserted by some writers, that Brahma, whence the name Brachman, or Brahmin, is derived, was anciently the king as well as legislator of Hindostan; and that, by blending a theological polity with his jurisprudence, he intended, by the obligations of religion, to fix the attachment of his subjects to their own country, as well as to bind them to an observance of his laws.

The Vedas.

Halhed's Pref Gent. Code, p. xxv. xxxii.

The four Beids, or Vedas *, are written in Sanscrit, or the pure language, being that of the Deity himself. "Very few of the most "learned Pundits, and those only who have employed many years of "painful study upon this one task, pretend to have the smallest "knowledge of the originals, which are now also become extremely "scarce, and difficult to be found; but Sastras or *commentaries* have "been written on them from the earliest periods." The traditional Vedas are supposed by Sir W. Jones to have been committed to writing, and to have received their present form about 800 years before Christ; the Sastras † afterwards.

The Vedas, as the Ten Hermetic Books of the Ægyptians, the Pentateuch of the Jews, and the Koran of the Moslems, are the fountain and groundwork of the religion and jurisprudence of the

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Ibid. n. p. 158, on the fish Avatar, 4to. edit. "The Brahmins," says Mr. Halhed, "remove this objection by saying that all their Scriptures were written before the "time by us allotted to Noah, and that the deluge never took place in Hindustan."

* On the Coromandel coast they are called the Vedums; the Talingahs and Malabars making little distinction between B and V, and terminating all Sanscrit words with an M.—Forster's Travels.

† To the Sastras have been ascribed all the preposterous ceremonies now observable in the Hindoo worship.

Hindus. They not only disclose a system of divine ordinances, which explain the duties of man, both social and religious, but also comprise treatises on medicine, music, war, and the mechanical arts. The Brahmins possess other bodies of learning, all professedly derived from the same divine sources; the most esteemed of which are, the Institutes delivered or remembered from Menu, the first of created beings, their oldest and holiest lawgiver and patriarch *. This book contains a system of despotism and priestcraft both limited by law, "but artfully conspiring to give mutual support, though "with mutual checks;" "it is filled with strange conceits in meta- "physics and natural philosophy, with idle superstitions, and with "a scheme of theology most obscurely figurative, and consequently "liable to dangerous misconceptions; it abounds with minute and "childish formalities, with ceremonies generally absurd, and often "ridiculous; and the morals, though rigid enough on the whole, "are sometimes greatly relaxed." This book must not, however, be refused a high portion of merit, more especially if the distant age be called to mind in which it was probably compiled; for the spirit of "*sublime devotion*," of benevolence to mankind, of tenderness to all creatures *which pervades the whole*, together with its perfect knowledge of civil polity, and its provisions against all the exigencies of government, planned with an admirable wisdom, seem to evince that the people for whom it was composed must have made high advances in civilization, and the state of society been greatly improved, before a system embracing such a variety of subjects could have been brought to maturity.

Lord Teignmouth's Life of Sir W. Jones, Vol. II. p. 263. See translation of Menu in Sir W. Jones's Works.

The origin of the four great castes or ranks, into which the Hindus are divided, and which have since been distributed into

* It should be observed, that all the various law tracts among the Hindus, whether sectaries of Boodh, or of Brahma, are but so many commentaries on the law of Menu, the great and acknowledged founder of Hindoo jurisprudence.

Syme's Ava, p. xiii.

Sonnerat. Voyage aux Indes, Vol. I. c. v.

others, whose creed and character it would be almost impossible to define, is Brahma*; who, after the formation of the five elements, first emanated from the supreme essence—"the principle of truth†."

In the first order is the Brahmin, or Priest; whose especial duty, though it was to read, to pray, to instruct, did not altogether prohibit him from holding civil employments. The second is the *Chehteree*, the ancient Cathæri or Katheri, or the modern Rajpoots, whose trade and sole profession is to draw the bow, to fight, to govern. The third, the Bice, the husbandman, merchant, or Banyan, devoted to the employments of agriculture and traffic. The last, the Sooder, whose duty is subjection, to labour, to serve, to travel. To these, time has added many subordinate castes, which are annexed to the luxuries or necessities of civilized life; but to the four great castes all the others look up, as to the main stock of their civil and religious institutions. This separation is supposed by them to have sprung from the original formation of mankind, and the first distinction of human beings. The custom has certainly proceeded from the most remote antiquity, since it is so inseparably connected with the practices of the country. Such has been the effect of this wonderful system; so deep a root has it taken in the prejudices and habits of the people, that even at this day, allowing some shades of alteration for the lapse of ages and the encroachments of despotism, the same subordination is observed. The Brahmin is still, though fallen from his former high supremacy both of character and learning, the sacred depositary of religious knowledge; to him all the other classes pay

Kettry.

Gent. Code, Pref. xlix.

Gent. Code, Pref. xlix.

* 1. The Brahmin, from the mouth—wisdom. 2. The Chehteree, from the arms—strength. 3. The Bice, from the belly or thighs—nourishment. 4. The Sooder, from the feet—subjection.

† Besides the four elements, the Hindus have a fifth, a subtle æther called akash.

Tavernier's Travels.

The Rajpoots, in the brightest days of the Mogul empire, had not forgotten their ancient character. To fly in battle was still infamous, and even the bigot Aurungzebe owed his crown to the exertions of their Rajahs, Jessing and Jessom-sing.

the highest deference; the Rajpoot devotes himself to the services of war; and the Bice to the more innocent labours of commerce and agriculture.

Yet though all beings are said to have been derived from Brahma, it is a remarkable fact, that throughout all India there scarcely exists at this day one temple devoted to his particular worship in his individual character of Creator; nor amid the numerous festivals of the Hindoo Almanack in honour of Veeshnu and Crishen (or Creeshna), is there one day peculiarly consecrated to Brahma. Except a few forms and ablutions observed by the Brahmins alone, the worship of this primitive Deity seems to have been absorbed in that of his representatives*. The system of the Hindoo religion, as it partakes of features diametrically opposite, is only to be accounted for in the different natures of the deities adored. According to this system, Brahma is the God Creator, Veeshnu the God Preserver, and Chiven, or Seeva, the God Destroyer; and it is contended that they are only personifications of the deities in their respective attributes of creation, preservation, and destruction. The sects of Veeshnu and Seeva have each their characteristic. The former deity is appeased with the simple offerings of ghee, or *clarified butter*, fruits, milk, herbs, and flowers; the genius of his service is peaceable and compassionate, and adapted to the placid manners of the worshippers; whilst that of

Gentoo Code, Halhed.

Reasons in Sonnerat, Vol. I. p. 152. v. n. 5. of p. 120.

See n. 18.

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* For a more particular account of the Hindoo religion, see Maurice's Works, Sir W. Jones, Bernier, Tavernier, *Sonnerat*, Dow, Orme, Halhed, &c. who have exhausted all that can be said upon the subject. Veeshnu and Creeshna are the Avatars or Incarnations of the Supreme Being, manifested in different periods, either for the purposes of punishment or reform to the human race. The Brahmins urge, that these Avatars are direct proofs of a presiding Providence, to whom the loftiest potentates are equally accountable as the meanest vassals, and that our good or ill fortune depends upon our good or ill use of these gifts. The advocates of the Hindus urge, that in the vast region of their mythology, "Piety is to be discovered in the garb of "Allegory, and Morality is to be seen blended with every tale."

Sonnerat. Liv. II. sect. I. a.

Seeva, in the Brahmins' own language, is fierce and vindictive, distinguished by penances and austerities, the most revolting to the feelings of nature. The hatred of the sects is mutual; a follower of Veeshnu meets one of the votaries of Seeva; he thinks himself polluted, and flies to some rite of purification to release him from the foul stain. In the sect of Seeva are the Saniasses and Yogees *; those miserable devotees, who, because they are eternally debarred from admission to the higher caste of the Brahmins, lay claim to superior distinctions upon earth, and higher eminence in heaven, by the voluntary infliction and endurance of tortures and penitential rights, which, were they not well authenticated, would be revolting to credulity itself.

Sonnerat, Vol. I. p. 198.

Ibid. Liv. III. c. vi.

The whole doctrine of penance and ablutions; the agency of good and evil spirits variously affecting the human race; the idea of a purgatory, and the grand principle of the metempsychosis, an opinion which Pythagoras, who passed some years in Upper India, evidently borrowed from the Gymnosophists, or Brachmans of Persia or Cashmire, seem all to have been derived from the inability of mankind to account for the origin of evil, or some faint records of the fall of man, and the rebellion of the angelic bands.

Maurice, A. H. Hindost.

By such penances it was fondly believed that the purified soul could alone escape its polluted tenement, and rise to that Deity, the

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* Saniassee is like the Essene, or Solitary; the Yogee, like the Moslem Fakirs. The Saniasses largely are concerned in traffic, and often engage in considerable bodies in the rival contests of the Indian chiefs. The errors of the Hindus may have, in a great measure, arisen from their ignorance and forgetfulness of their native language. The arts of commentators rendered their sacred records still more unintelligible; but whatever differences may exist among the rival sects, they all avow one common opinion upon the nature of the soul, the metempsychosis, and their regard of the sacred Vedas. "Brahma, est le Dieu créateur; Veeshnu, le Dieu conservateur; et Chiven "ou Seeva, le Dieu destructeur." These are their principal deities, and what are called by Mr. Maurice and others the Indian Triad or Trimouti.

Sonnerat. Voy. aux Indes, Vol. I. p. 5. Liv. II. p. 150.

true source of light, and beauty, and beatitude, whence it first sprang. Thus, by gradations of suffering the most excessive, by triumphing over the strongest propensities of nature, by the sacrifice of love, ambition, and even life itself, did they either fancy they should be immediately transported into Paradise; or, by severe abstraction and intense meditation, be enabled to maintain a communion with the blessed spirits, and anticipate even in this life the joys of futurity. Maurice, A. H. Hindostan.

In the Vedas, the Metempsychosis is fully explained. The soul's immortality is derived from the survey of life, its various relations, prospects, and dependencies; and from the imperfect distribution of good and evil there visible, it is concluded, that there must be some other sphere of existence, where the divine justice and mercy shall be fully reconciled; "when those souls which have attained "to a certain degree of purity, either by the innocence of their "manners, or the severity of their mortifications, shall be removed "to regions of happiness proportioned to their respective merits; "whilst those who cannot so far surmount the prevalence of bad "example, and the forcible degeneracy of the times, as to deserve "such a promotion, are condemned to undergo continual punish-"ment in the animation of successive animal forms, until at a stated "period another renovation of the four Jogues shall commence "upon the dissolution of the present." This fanciful transmigration is not, however, confined to forms merely human* or bestial, but the wandering soul may be imprisoned in vegetables, and plunged into the depths of the mineral world. Gent. Code, Pref. xlv. Holwell. Maurice, A. H. Hindostan.

From the substance of Brahma the *Great* Spirit†, whose spirit

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* The Ceylonese believe that good men, at the transmigration of souls, are admitted into the rank of gods; the wicked are turned into beasts and reptiles. Percival's Ceylon.

† Believing, "Que nos ames sont des portions ou portioncules de Dieu, cette "grande ame du monde."—"The Deity, they hence conclude, would not doom to "eternal misery the spark of divine essence which illumines each embodied soul." Bernier.

enlightens the body, as the sun illumines the world, an infinitude of vital spirits, like sparks of fire, are diffused, which perpetually give motion to creatures either base or exalted. These afterwards return, and are absorbed in Brahma, as their common centre. The Deity is represented by these changes of different forms and bodies, as only punishing to purify; and though particular chastisements were reserved for notorious crimes, and from which even Brahmins were not exempt, if they stained their hands with the blood of animals; yet the Hindus, as well as the Ægyptians, disclaimed all idea of eternal torments, in retribution for temporal offences. Nature itself was represented as one vast field of purgatory: the good, the just, and the pious, were alone permitted to escape this continual mutation of forms; their souls went directly to dwell with the great first cause, without passing through any trial, or ever being subject to resurrection.

This union of the human soul, with the divine ætherial subsistence of the universe, is the ancient doctrine of Pythagoras and Plato *; it seems to exclude any personal or conscious immortality; nor does the soul, absorbed in the divine essence, appear to possess any abstract existence, or any separate form and character.

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* The six Philosophical Schools of the Indians comprise all the metaphysicks of "the Old Academy, the Stoa, and the Lyceum; nor can we hesitate to believe that "Pythagoras and Plato derived their sublime theories from the same fountain with "the sages of India. The Scythian and Hyperborean doctrines and mythology are "discovered in every part of the Eastern regions, and the deities adored in India were "worshipped under different names in old Greece and Italy. That Wod, or Oden, "is the same with the Buddha of the Hindus and the Fo of China, seems indisputable; and, were it necessary, many other striking analogies might be pointed out, "between the northern and eastern mythologies." The Vedanti School, as described by Sir W. Jones, does not differ from that of the Soofees, the present metaphysicians of Persia. They affect to lament the union of the soul with matter, and pant after its release from material or an earthly bondage.—Scott Waring's Sheeraz, p. 254, n.

Teignmouth's Life of Sir. W. Jones, Vol. II. p. 316. See the Dissertation I. of Sir W. Jones, on the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India. Strabo, de Indic. Lib. XV. Barrow's China, p. 468.

From whatever source the Druids derived their religious tenets*, it is evident that they, as well as many of the northern nations, adopted the Metempsychosis in its fullest latitude. The Edda, the creed of the Icelandic or Runic scalds (or poets), bears the closest affinity in many particulars to the Indian, Stoical†, and Zoroastrian creed: it speaks of the future destruction of the world by fire, the return of all created beings into the bosom of the great Deity, the supreme good, from whom they first issued. All the eastern religions have more or less of this doctrine interwoven in their tenets, and from its general prevalency we may suppose it to have arisen from some primeval traditions derived from Noah or Menu, and afterwards fancifully improved, of the soul's being an imperishable substance, and separate from the body, of a state of reward and punishment after this life, wherein the divine Providence would be vindicated in its government of the world.

Mallet H. Antiq. passim. Vol. II.

Sonnerat, Voy. aux Indes, Lib. II. tom. I.

The result and meaning of the whole doctrine seems to be, "As far as vital souls, addicted to sensuality, indulged themselves in forbidden pleasures, even to the same degree shall the acuteness of their senses be raised in their future bodies, that they may endure analogous pains; with whatever disposition of mind a man shall perform in this life any act, moral or religious, in a future

Menu, v. 78. 81.

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* The Druids were probably formed on the model of the Magi. The Scandinavians came certainly from some country of Asia. The Edda was a course of practical lectures drawn up for the use of the young Icelanders, who devoted themselves to the profession of Scalds, or poets. The Edda was collected in its present form about 1215. See Appendix.

† Zeno, the founder of the Stoical School, was born in Cyprus, of Phœnician parents, and it is probable that he learned the principal tenets of his philosophy in the East. The Stoics believed that the world would be destroyed by fire, the Hindus believe that in the 10th Avatar of Veeshu, "Le Serpent Adissechen vomira son feu "qui brulera tous les Globes, et toutes les Créatures periront."—Sonnerat. Voy. aux Indes.

"body, endued with the same qualities, shall he receive his retri-
"bution."

Gentoo Code, Sect. iii. c. xvi. Appendix, No. I.

It was this religious principle which made the peaceful Hindus revolt from shedding the blood of animals, contented them with a plain and vegetable diet, inspired the noblest contempt of death, and an entire disregard of personal dangers and conveniences. Hence arose their dread of pollution; their severe laws against all attempts at assaulting any one of superior caste; and their frequent ablutions in the Ganges, and other sacred streams*, whose waters were, according to their creed, alone endued with the sovereign power of washing away the stains of sin, and fitting the soul for its disembodied station.

But if the Brahmins were by the most positive laws and immemorial usage prohibited from eating animal flesh†, the Kettry, or warrior tribe, whose general diet was of the same simple nature, seem in some particular instances to have been allowed this privilege; and among the tribes of the lower caste, which are almost infinitely subdivided, these prohibitions are less strictly regarded; the meanness of their rank, or their intercourse with foreigners, having softened many of those terrors which formerly prevailed; fish, and some meats, now constituting a principal source of their nourishment.

Though the Hindoo religion in all parts of Asia stands upon a common basis, an essential difference is visible in the manners and religious ceremonies of those who inhabit the southern and northern provinces. The Brahmin of the former, with many of the other sects, is strictly confined to a vegetable diet; a native of the Lower

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* The other great sacred rivers were the Kristna and the Jumna.

† See, Plutarch in Libro de Iside et Osiride, reasons for this regard to particular animals. In the Gentoo Code curious punishments are enacted for the slaughter of animals, or even for maiming them. A bird, a fish, an insect, a serpent, are included in the scale.

Carnatic is for the most part mild, temperate, and placid; but the inhabitants of the Panjab, even those of domestic and laborious professions, are brave, daring, and often cruel. Brahmins are the usual soldiers of the country, many of whom eat flesh; they always carry with them weapons of offence; even the merchants and mechanics, when they travel but a few miles, are all strongly armed; and in some of the northern provinces, particularly in Bundelcund, the husbandmen carry a spear with them into the field. Continual wars and civil commotions have probably contributed to effect such an alteration. The Brahmins of the Decan have now also taken up the sword, and are seen crowding the ranks of the army. The Kettry tribe occasionally engage in traffic, and the Sooder have become the inheritors of principalities. The Goojers*, a Hindoo sect in Upper India, of the fourth tribe, exercise equally the profession of agriculture and arms. The Sooder is still, however, prohibited from reading the Vedas, and "were he known to learn them by heart he "would incur the punishment of death;" but he is allowed to study other popular works of poetry and morals, of which there are many extant; and often in this inferior class, especially among those who devote themselves to medicine, men are found of more learning and estimable qualities than among the privileged Brahmins.

Forster's Travels, Vol. I. p. 12.

Gentoo Code, Sect. vii. c. xxi.

The higher classes, however, unless they have voluntarily relinquished their profession, still preserve their ancient rights inviolate. Intermarriages between separate castes are still rare†; each tribe has a distinct feature, and the lineaments of the countenance and form seem rather to indicate a peculiar family than an individual tribe.

The higher, indeed, the caste, the prouder the claim to distinction, and the more scrupulous the observance of ancient customs. To

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* The greater number of the Sheik proselytes were from this class.

† "En sorte," says Bernier, "que ces tribes ne se puissent point allier les uns "avec les autres."

such an extravagance has the religious dread of pollution been carried, that the lowest caste, or the refuse of all the inferior tribes, called Pariahs *, or Chandalahs, are doomed to perpetual drudgery and contempt, and by the unalterable laws of Brahma excluded from ever rising to a higher rank in society, or ever amending their forlorn condition. On the Malabar and Coromandel coast, such is the abomination in which this class is holden, that were one of them to touch a Rajpoot or Nayr, death would be the instant consequence of his presumption; and even his very shade is deemed such a pollution, as only to be expiated by particular rites.

From this violence there is no appeal: it is either justified by the law of Brahma, or tacitly allowed by the custom of the country. The only refuge of the Chandalah † in this extremity is to avoid the presence of his enemy; and if he solicit charity, it is only from the con-

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* The Chandalah, thus separated from the higher castes by insurmountable barriers, does not believe that any higher honours will await him through the eternal mutations of form that he must undergo, than to animate the body of a jackal. "If a "Sooder," says the Code, "give much and frequent molestation to a Brahmin, the "magistrate shall put him to death." "If he assume the customs and appearances "of a Brahmin, or Kettry, his goods shall be confiscated, and he shall be banished "the kingdom." The Brahmin was himself exempt from capital punishment, and entitled to the highest benefits from the state and the people. To the inhabitants of a free country, it can scarcely seem credible that a people could be satisfied with such partial laws; but it is said, "that the Hindus are not discontented with the lot "to which they have been accustomed from their earliest infancy; if they blame any "thing, it is that original turn of chance which gave them rather to spring from the "belly or the feet of Brahma than from his arms or head." The superiority of the Brahmin tribe being interwoven with the very essence of their nature, is esteemed by themselves a satisfactory plea for every advantage settled upon them by the laws of their country.

Sect. vii. c. xxi.

See xlix. lv.

Vide Sect. xl. xlii.

† Quand ils apperçoivent des Pariahs ils crient de loin pour les avertir de ne pas se trouver sur leur passage. Si quelqu'un de ces malheureux s'approchoit trop d'un Nair, et le touchoit par mégarde, le Nair a le droit de le tuer; action qu'ils regardent comme très *innocente*, et dont on ne se plaint jamais.

Sonnerat. Voyage aux Indes. Tom. I. p. 58.

cealment of the thicket, where his piteous cries implore the compassion of the passing stranger. Orme's Hindostan.

Whatever may be the present spirit of peace and gentleness in the religion of Hindostan, there is great reason for believing that formerly the blood of bulls, of goats, of horses, and even of men, was profusely shed upon its altars, which were besides stained with many of those barbarous rites, that more particularly distinguished the ruder nations of the North. The temples of Seeva are for the most part darkened with gloomy horrors; his appearance is fierce and terrible, his features are distorted; and even at the present day, the Mahrattas*, in other respects the most scrupulous observers of the religion of Brahma, are not exempt from the suspicion of an occasional but secret sacrifice of a human victim to Cáli, the wife of Seeva, in his character of the Stygian Jove. To this black Goddess, with a collar of golden skulls, as she is seen exhibited in all her principal temples, human sacrifices were anciently offered, as the Vedas enjoined†; but the powers of nature are now supposed to be propitiated by the more innocent offerings of the fruits and flowers of spring and autumn. Appendix. Maurice, Sonnerat.

This cruel rite did not originate in the Peninsula, but was probably introduced by some of its conquerors. It is said to have been either

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* The Mahrattas never eat of any thing that has life, nor will they even kill the insect that molest them; a buffalo, sacrificed with many strange ceremonies, atones for the blood of their own species, which they profusely, and without pity, shed in war. Sacrifices are certainly not, in some cases, disallowed by the Hindus. Orme's Hindos. Gentoo Code, sect. iii. ch. xvi.

† Elles (Divinités) se plaisent aux sacrifices sanglans: il est même des lieux, où elles exigent des victimes humaines. See Sonnerat on the Figure of Parachiven, with the Collar of Skulls, p. 134. 188. Tom. I. Liv. II. sect. iii. and Liv. III. c. ii.

At Benares is a temple to the compound name of Veeshnu and Seeva, or Eiswer, or *Bess Eishwer*, where the sectaries of both offer up their prayers. He is represented as the God of the Sun. Forster's Travels.

derived from Upper Hindostan, and the valley of Cashmire, which was formerly the capital of a most extensive empire, or from the rude inhabitants of the Scythian plains and mountains. The Brahmins endeavoured to palliate the cruelty of this slaughter (an evidence that it was permitted, and which gave such offence to Buddha) by inculcating the belief, that the poor victims rose in the heaven of Indra, and became the sole musicians of his band.

Although the zeal of proselytism never seems to have animated the breast of the Brahmin; his religion, under various forms and modifications, has been widely diffused over Asia. It is not only the principal mode of faith of Northern India, the Decan, and the eastern provinces, but it has penetrated the Mountains of Thibet, the kingdoms of the Golden Chersonese*, the Islands of the Indian Ocean, Tonquin, Cochin, and even China itself. The Islands (says Sir William Jones) in the South Seas, from Madagascar to the Philippines, and even to the remotest islands lately discovered, were chiefly peopled by Hindus: the idols there worshipped are said by travellers to be the same as those in the Bengal provinces; and all the insular dialects seem to have no other parent for them than the Sanscrit.

Vol. I. p. 120.

The similarity between the Asiatic and European mythologies has long excited the attention of the learned, and the palm of antiquity has been *variously* assigned according to the fancy, or the skill, of the several disputants. The obvious coincidence of many of the ancient rites, letters, languages, customs of the ancient Egyptians or Ethiopians (for in the most distant ages they were certainly the same

De Guignes.

Symes, Ava.

* The kingdoms of Ava, Pegu, Arracan, and Laos (part of Siam), now constitute the Birman empire. The people are described as Budhists, or of the sect of Fo.

Ibid. p. 304.

The Birman empire forms a large portion of the Aurea Chersonesus of antiquity. The Birmans confess, that they received their religion from Ceylon.

people) with the old Hindus, has been ascribed to their having sprung from the same common origin. But whether it is believed that colonies were anciently sent from the Nile to the Ganges and to China, or that the western shores of the Red Sea and the plains of the Thebaid were planted from India; there can be no hesitation in agreeing with Sir W. Jones and Mr. Bryant, that the Egyptian, Indian, Grecian, and Italian superstitions, proceeded originally from one central point, and that the same people carried their religion and sciences into China and Japan, and perhaps it may also be added, into Mexico and Peru.

In the review of the army of Xerxes, his Ethiopian auxiliaries are described as being in form and feature like the Indians; the Afghans also, according to the accounts of later authors, are a race of Cibthi Copts*, or Ægyptians; and even at the present day, the mountaineers of Bengal and Bahar can hardly be distinguished in some of their features, especially their lips and noses, from the modern Abyssinians. Mr. Maurice contends, that so far from the religious opinions and peculiar character of the Hindus having been borrowed from the Egyptians, the reverse of the argument is more likely the truth. "The *genius of the Indians was ever too proud* "to borrow either ceremonies of religion, or maxims of policy, "from their neighbours on either confine of their empire. The

Herodotus.

Sir W. Jones's 3d Dissertation Asiat. Soc. Hindus. Teignmouth's Life of Sir William Jones, Vol. II. p. 315. Note.

Mod. Hist. Hindostan, Vol. I. p. 6.

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* There can be no doubt that the modern Copts are descended from that people who were conquered by the Arabs—*i. e.* from that mixture of Egyptians, Persians, and, above all, Greeks, who, under the Ptolemies and Constantines, were so long in possession of Egypt. Their features greatly resemble those of the Mulatto. In the time of Diocletian, they were more numerous in the Said than the Delta, which was the principal resort of the Greeks. Egypt itself was perhaps planted by Æthiopia, which, from the remotest ages, appears to have been a flourishing country. De Pauw.

Volney's Syria, Vol. I. p. 79.

Volney derives the word Cibthi or El-Kobthi, by an allowable substitution and abbreviation of some letters of the Arabic, from Al-gouptios. Hence the word Copts, as the descendants of the ancient people.

" Egyptians have either appropriated to themselves the ancient my-
" thological rites and symbols of India; or they have derived both
" from one primitive source of Cuthite profanation *."

That a connection existed between these old idolatrous nations long before they had migrated to their several settlements, and even in ages prior to the birth of Moses, cannot be disputed; and it is probable that the Priests of Egypt, like the Sages of Greece, in a subsequent period, visited the Sarmans or Gymnosophists of Persia and India; but it was rather with a design of acquiring, than of imparting knowledge; nor is it likely that the self-sufficient Brahman would have received or acknowledged a foreigner as his preceptor in science and morality. " A figurative mode of expressing
" the fervour of devotion, or the ardent love of created beings
" towards their beneficent Creator, has prevailed from time imme-
" morial in the East. The doctrines of the Indian philosophers of
" the Vedanti School are believed to be the source of that divine
" but poetical theology which glows and sparkles in the writings of
" the old Academists. Plato travelled into Italy and Egypt, to learn
" the theology of the Pagans at its fountain head; but Pythagoras
" had conducted thither considerable streams before, and its true
" fountain was in Persia and India, which the founder of the Italic
" sect had visited with a similar design." The nature of the connection of India with Greece at the period of Alexander's conquests, has been mentioned in the former part of these Notices. Many learned men accompanied the Macedonian Prince in his marches, and obtained, through his influence, the most valuable information from the natives; and even two centuries before this era, we are informed, " that the persecutions and cruelties of
" Ptolemy Physcon having expelled great numbers of learned and

Sonnerat, Voyage aux Indes, Vol. I. p. 3, 4, and Livre III.

Sir W. Jones's Works, Vol. I. p. 445.

* Cushæa seu Cush, vel Babyloniæ territorium, vel Arabia vicina Chaldæis, Nabathæa & Negjd.

Hyde Vet. Rel. Pers.

" pious Greeks and Egyptians from Alexandria, they travelled " eastward, and found an asylum either among the Indians or " Persians."

The strongest local reasons might also be alleged in support of the belief, that the Brahmin himself never undertook any distant expeditions; for the migrations of some of the lower castes do not plead against the more rigid laws of the higher orders. A rich and abundant climate satisfied all his wants, and he could, therefore, desire nothing from abroad; the law of his religion sanctioned this love of his native soil, and forbade him to quit it, under the severest penalties. Should he pass the sacred boundaries of the Attock, which in some dialects of the Hinduee signifies *prohibition*, he was immediately unclean, and, in the strict sense of religious law, forfeited the privileges of his caste. The Brahmin was also forbidden to embark upon the ocean, or was deterred from undertaking any marine expedition, from the difficulty of procuring in other countries the diet which his law prescribed, and of performing those ablutions in the sacred waters which were an indispensable part of his service. According to his own limited system and crude notions of the world, the whole race of mankind who lived beyond the vast tracts of ocean and mountains which skirt and defend his own favoured country, were excluded from the benevolent smile of the Deity, and were only noticed in his own fables under the degrading title of Milechlas, or Infidels. It is true, the Brahmins of the present age understand better the form of the earth, and have laid aside, in a great measure, these ignorant distinctions; but they are " still so far from being solicitous to convert the stranger to their " own opinions, or from wishing him to assimilate with the nation, " that if a foreigner were to solicit the privilege of worshipping " Veeshnu, his proposal would be received with the utmost con- " tempt." The Brahmins, like the Magi, never revealed to strang-

Attock. See Appendix.

Orme's Hind. Prel. Discourse, p. 7.

ers the awful secrets of their religion; the Druids followed the example of their eastern brethren, and concealed their profound mysteries from all but their own disciples; and this inviolable secresy was probably the principal vow on initiation. "Heaven (say the "Brahmins) is like a palace with many doors, and every one may "enter in his own way." Few other sects have, therefore, been encouraged to settle amongst them, as they must have been altogether excluded from the benefits of social intercourse.

Maur. Ind. Antiq. Vol. VI. sect. iii. Dow's Dissertation Ind. Hist. p. 33. Bernier.

If the Brahmin be asked to change his creed, and adopt the Christian faith, he pleads, that variety in matters of religion could not be displeasing to God, any more than it was in the material world; or, had it been the intention of God to produce uniformity in religion, he would have formed all men with the same mind. Bernier tells us, that the Hindus did not pretend their law to be "universal; that they did not hold Christianity to be false, as, for "aught they knew, it might be a good law for us, and that God "probably made many roads to heaven*."

Buddha, B. C. 1014.

But though the religion of Brahma was diffused over so considerable a portion of the eastern world, there is full evidence that at a period† too remote to be precisely ascertained, some violent feud having arisen among its followers, a dreadful persecution ensued, which was probably a principal mean of propagating many of the Brahminical tenets in regions far distant from its original seat. The

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* Montezuma, with the same reason, insisted that the religion of the Spaniards was good for their country, and his for Mexico.

Mod. Hist. Hindost. Vol. I. p. 279.

† "The simple and pure worship of the Deity," says Mr. Maurice, "prescribed "by Menu, the great Indian legislator, is said, about 1000 years before the Chris-"tian æra, to have degenerated into an idolatrous veneration of the host of heaven "and the elements of nature. Temples and images were erected, and sacred rites "instituted in honour of the memory of heroes, eminent in arts or successful in "war."

inhabitants of Siam, and generally the Golden Chersonese, the Chingelays*, many tribes on the coast of Coromandel, the islands of the Indian Ocean, Japan, and even China itself, received the new doctrines; and the name of Budhists became the distinguishing mark of their disciples.

Of the first appearance or birth-place of Buddha, little is accurately known. By some authors, he is said to have appeared 3000 years ago, and to have been the last supposed incarnation of the Deity. The Chinese and Thibetians make him a native of Cashmire, and assign his birth to the year 1000, before Christ. The learned Hindus are undecided upon the subject. According to St. Jerome, and Clemens of Alexandria, he was the founder of the sect of the *Gymnosophists*, and was worshipped as a God by the Hindus; others have asserted, that he was a native of Egypt, and that in the persecution excited by Cambyses, after the destruction of the Bull Apis, Buddha-Sakia, a priest of Memphis, fled into India, and introduced the worship of the Bull and the Cow†: a worship before unknown.

Sir W. Jones's Dissert. Hindus, B. C. 1014.

Or *Sarmanæ*.

B. C. 525.

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* With the Chingelays, who are dispersed over the Coast of Coromandel and the Island of Ceylon, no race of Brahmins is to be found. They are, on this account, separated from and despised by the other castes. The next in dignity to their God is Buddha, the Saviour of souls: his religion was introduced into Ceylon about 40 years before the Christian æra, at the time of the Brahminical persecution: his many incarnations are believed to have been for the good of the human race. See, on the Ceylonese Religion, Percival's Ceylon, chap. ix. and on their Language, a corruption of Arabic and Sanscrit, chap. viii. ibid.

Hyde thinks the name of the idol Budd was carried from Persia to India, and that he is the same idol which is worshipped in Ceylon. Clemens Alex. says, that Butta was a Brachman worshipped by the Indians as a God, on account of his sanctity.

Hyde Vet. Rel. Pers. cap. v.

† Sir W. Jones is induced to adopt this opinion from the analogy observable in many of the Hindu and Egyptian names and symbols, the pyramidal forms of the early Hindu Pagodas, the ablutions, superstitions, ceremonies, and the immunities and powers annexed respectively to their two sacred classes.

See also, Turner's Embassy to Thibet, p. 288.

But whatever may have been the origin of this sect, it appears that, from the reign of Cambyses, a new system usurped the place of the original creed of the Hindus, and that materialism spread widely over India and Asia. This was the great source of the Brahminical persecution, many of whose favourite opinions the doctrine of Buddha tended to subvert; for his disciples preached against the old bloody sacrifices, certainly allowed in the Vedas: nor is it improbable, that the hostility excited by these doctrines might have given rise, on the part of their adversaries, to the charge of materialism. It was urged, that the Budhists denied a pre-existent state, and the use of probationary discipline (tenets, on which the Brahmins had founded their ideas of the metempsychosis, and voluntary penances of purification); that they asserted, the mental faculty in man is also material, commencing its existence with "the body, growing to "maturity, gradually decaying, and finally expiring with it; that "man was not an accountable agent, possessing, together with an "organized body, an immortal spirit, distinct in its nature and "properties."

Sir W. Jones's Works, Vol. I. p. 129.

These impious tenets made at first but few converts in Hindostan; but they were soon widely diffused over Asia. According to the Chinese records, the Priests of Buddha came, by the invitation of one of their Emperors, from some part of India, near Thibet, about the 60th year of the Christian era. These Priests succeeded so well

Barrow's China p. 440—468.

Tom. I. p. 204. Sonnerat argues against this opinion, because Pythagoras found in India the same opinions and customs, long before the expedition of Cambyses.

Barrow's China, p. 476. On an inscription on an ancient monument of Osiris were found these remarkable words: "Saturn, the youngest of all the Gods, was my father. I am Osiris, who "conducted a large and numerous army as far as the deserts of India, and travelled "over the greatest part of the world," &c.

Plutarch de Iside et Osiride. Isis, in Egypt, was worshipped under the form of a cow—Osiris under that of an ox.

in introducing their worship, that it continues at this day to be one of the popular religions of the country. In Japan, whose natives are of Chinese origin, the same Deity is worshipped, under the name of Amida. Appendix.

Both the Chinese Fo, and the Indian Buddha, appear to have inculcated a life of idolatry and annihilation. This is the atomical philosophy of the Greeks and Romans; wherein the universe, deprived of a supreme presiding intellect, is left to the impulse of a blind necessity in matter and motion.

But, like the Egyptians and Greeks of old, the disciples of Buddha appear to have had a two-fold doctrine; the one public, for the vulgar; the other private, and confined to the Priests, and initiated. This, probably, may have led Monsieur De Pauw to assert, "that no system was ever more contrary to Atheism than "that of Buddha; that he was an austere fanatic, who, by over-"straining every thing, rendered virtue ridiculous. It was not only "necessary, according to him, to destroy the passions, but even the "senses, and he ordered his disciples to confine their thoughts "solely to the Divinity, keeping their bodies in continual repose, "and their minds in constant meditation." Egypt & China, Vol. II. p. 202.

Mr. Maurice has endeavoured to solve this difficulty, by shewing that there were two persons of this name; that the first Boodh, or Buddha, humanely forbade the sacrifices of men and beasts on the Indian altars; he is supposed, by the Brahmins, to have been an incarnation of Veeshnu; and that the second Boodh, or Chinese Fo, who, assuming his name, and misrepresenting his principles, after a life of exemplary piety, and the most rigid penitential austerities, called his disciples to him, on the approach of death, and told them, that "whatsoever he had hitherto taught on spiritual "matters, and a future state of existence, was nothing more than "an ingenious allegory; that there were neither rewards nor pu-

Maurice's A.H. Hindostan, Vol. I. p. 399. Quoted from Mosheimii Eccl. Tart. Hist. ch. iii. sect. vi.

" nishments after this life; that the principle of all things was an " immense vacuum*, and that human nature terminated in annihi- " lation."

CHAP. III.

RELIGION OF THE CHINESE.

In a work more peculiarly devoted to the history of Hindostan, it might appear a needless labour to treat of the religion of China; but the ancient connection of the idolatrous nations of the East is so apparent at every step we take, and they all seem so generally to have adopted the same great leading tenets, that it is presumed a short account of China will not prove an unwelcome digression.

The state of religion in China has occupied the labours and ingenuity of the learned for more than a century; nor is the subject yet cleared from those difficulties which the jealousy of the natives, and the misrepresentations of the Jesuits, have designedly cast on it.

Maurice's A.H. Hindostan, Vol. I. p. 397.

* Of the early existence of these opinions we have the fullest evidence in the Gheeta. " There are," says Creeshna, " who know not what it is to proceed in vir- " tue, or recede from vice. They say that the world is without beginning and with- " out end, and without an Eswàrà, or all-ruling Providence."

The Priests of the Boodh temples, in Mysore, affirm, that the Brahmin religion is of late introduction into that country; and that at no very distant period its inhabitants owned the sway, and followed the religion of Boodh.

"It may be observed of almost all the writings of the missionaries "concerning this country, that virtues of so trifling a nature as "hardly to deserve the name, have met their unqualified praise, "whilst enormous vices have either been palliated, or passed over in "silence." Barrow's Chin. p. 519.

It is probable that in China, as in Japan, the Deity was worshipped with an inferior kind of homage to subordinate spirits, who were his supposed Ministers in his government of the universe; and that offerings, as with the Japanese, were made to the Camis, or souls of departed worthies. This notion generally prevailed throughout Asia, and seems to have been adopted on the persuasion that the favour of the Omniscient, whose awful majesty they were fearful personally to invoke, was only to be propitiated by the intercessions of a Mediator.

But before the birth of their great legislator Confucius*, all seems to have been fable and uncertainty; to his philosophy has been assigned a noble and distinguished character; and idol worship, it is said, was not introduced till after his death, about 500 years before the Christian era.

When the two Mahomedan travellers visited China, in the 9th century, they described the country as rich, fruitful, and populous; but the natives, as greatly inferior in science to the Indians, from whom they professed to have derived their laws†, their faith, and Renaudot, A.R.Chin.p.36.

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* According to the best chronologists, Herodotus and Confucius must have been contemporaries. The early Greeks had, however, no knowledge of China; nor in the days of Alexander was it much better known. The Persians were, perhaps, little acquainted with the interior of China, until the period of the Tartar conquests, which gave a new dynasty to the kingdom. Barrow's Chin. p. 435.

† Some authors have asserted, that the Chinese are a colony of Hindus, who, 15 centuries before Christ, emigrated from their native country, passed the Ganges, and erected a new empire in the kingdom of Shen-shi, which was afterwards increased and subdued by other colonies from the Scythian plains. M. Gentil asserts, that the Chi- Syme's Ava, p. 301.

their idol worship, and whom they considered as a very religious nation. It is also affirmed, by the same travellers, that both the Chinese and the Indians believed in the Metempsychosis, though they differed in many points connected with the precepts of their religion.

The followers of Confucius professed a firm belief in a Supreme God, and demonstrated his Being and Providence from the exquisite beauty and perfection of the celestial bodies, and the wonderful order of nature throughout the visible world. From this belief, they endeavoured to deduce a rational and consistent system of ethicks. But the works of this celebrated man, though interest and prejudice have exalted them to the skies, rest upon such doubtful testimony, that their authenticity is to be admitted with the greatest caution; for, though they contain many common-place maxims of morality, yet their general notions upon this important subject, are far from being either just or reasonable.

From the writings professedly his own, it appears that his notions of a Deity partook of that gross materialism, which is at present the prevailing feature of the Chinese religion; he asserts, that out of nothing there cannot possibly be produced any thing, and, therefore, that material bodies must have existed from all eternity. No personality is attached to the Deity; nor is the great First Cause represented under any image or symbol. The Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, have their respective emblems; and the elements, with the azure firmament, are considered as the creative and productive powers; the immediate agents of, and inseparably connected with, the Deity. Adoration is offered to these agents, united in one

Barrow's Chin. p. 457. Fabric. Lux. Evan. c. xxxix.

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nese admit that their God Foe was brought from India. The Gaudma of the Birmans is the Foe of China, and the Chinese ambassadors at the court of Ava paid to his image divine honours.

word, *TIEN**, or Heaven. Tien is, therefore, essentially confounded with the *Lee*, reason, or First Cause.

Like the ancient Persians, who believed the whole circle of the heaven to be the grand ruling power of the universe, the Chinese Princes were desired, as a supreme duty devolving upon them exclusively, as the sons of Heaven, to offer sacrifices upon the highest mountains, as being nearer to the seat and fountain of creative Power. This Power was supposed to be satisfied, when man performed his moral duties, the principal of which were made to consist in filial piety, and unlimited obedience† to the will of the Prince. The writings of Confucius manifest the strongest predilection for divination, or predicting events upon certain mystical lines, or lots; the responses derived from this method of consulting futurity, are not confined to the vulgar, or the priests, whose interest it is to promote so lucrative a traffic; but they engage the attention of the State, and are a business of high political importance‡.

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* The Chinese (says Raynal) have no term for God; they say that Heaven is God. But (says the Emperor Chang-Chi, in an edict published 1710) it is not to the visible and material heaven that we offer our sacrifices, but to the Lord of heaven. Superstition has never yet wanted plausible explanations, wherever its advocates would exercise their ingenuity. The ancient Persians thought the heaven was Jupiter. Hist. Indies, Vol. I. B. I. p. 100. Strabo, Lib. XV.

† In retiring from the temple, the Chinese render a devotional obeisance to the name of the Emperor inscribed on the altar; and the monarch is associated in their offerings to the Deity. In speaking of any propitious event occurring in their own, or any other country, the Chinese generally attribute it to the joint will of Tien, and the Emperor. Thus intimate is the connection between despotism and superstition. Barrow's Chin. p. 485.

‡ Confucius gave rules for this species of sorcery. Tacitus informs us, that among the ancient Germans, who were originally Scythians, the prototype of Rhabdomancy was engraven on rods. The Chinese had also rods with similar inscriptions. The Arabs, before the birth of Mahomed, divined by bundles of arrows in the Caâba. Mahomed destroyed this practice. The Romans had peculiar modes of divination; their dies fasti, nefasti, their auguries, &c. The Egyptians consulted the planets for De Pauw, Egypt and Chin. Vol. II. sect. viii. p. 164. Ockley's Saracens, Vol. I. p. 62.

De Pauw, Egypt & Chins, Vol. II. sect. viii.

The Chinese have generally been accused of Atheism by the Jesuits; but that they believe in the soul's immortality, cannot well be disputed, however vague and ill defined their ideas of its separate existence and personal identity in a future state. According to Confucius, at the separation of the soul and body, the earthly part resolves itself, in the course of time, into its primitive elements, and becomes a part of the universe; whilst the spiritual ascends into the air, and is, in particular cases, allowed to revisit its ancient habitation, or such places as may be appointed for receiving the homage of its descendants, upon whom it has the power of conferring benefits. On this ground, the strictest observance is paid to the rites of burial, on the dreaded penalty, in case of their omission, of never being granted the privilege of revisiting the Hall of Ancestors*.

Such a system could not fail to establish a belief in good and evil genii, and in tutelar spirits presiding over families, towns, and particular places. It is also certain, that whether in compliance with the depraved practices of his countrymen, or from his ignorance of natural right, many customs were permitted them, which reason and pure religion must condemn. His laws allow personal servitude, the absolute power of parents over their children, and polygamy; but take no

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Sonnerat Voy. aux Indes, Vol. I. Liv. III. c. xiii.

the same purpose, and dared not undertake any thing without it. The Indians have arranged their almanack upon the same principles.

Remudot, A.R. p. 99. Rem. and Notes, p. 57.

* The Mahomedan travellers mention the sumptuousness of the Chinese burials, and their placing food before the corpse. The expenses on this occasion were so exorbitant, as frequently to ruin them. The length of the mourning, and the expenses of funerals, have been since reduced, by royal edicts, to more reasonable limits.

Lib. XVII. de Æthiop.

Strabo says, that the Æthiopians had a custom of enclosing the bodies of their relatives in glass and earthen vessels: and Plutarch speaks of the Egyptians bringing the bodies of their friends into their feasts.

Sympos.

On the Virgulæ of the Persians, see Hyde Vet. Relig. Persar. cap. xxvii.

notice of many other flagrant vices, to which the Chinese are shamefully addicted*.

If, however, this Philosopher be allowed all the merit, which his advocates would contend for, and which, for a rude age, may be considerable; as a reformer, his moral and religious opinions appear to have been too sublime and metaphysical to retain their purity among a people unprepared to receive and cherish them. The multitude in all ages seem to have fixed upon something gross and material, as the object of their devotion. In China, the Legislator was soon converted into a God. Temples, dedicated to him, are to be seen in every city, where, on certain days, incense, fruits, and flowers, are offered up to his invisible spirit; a ceremony, which, in many respects, is the same as that ordained by him for the manes of departed relations.

It has been the fashion of some modern writers, with a view to discredit the evidence of the Mosaic records, to ascribe to the Chinese the highest antiquity, and to paint, in the most glowing colours, the science, the arts, and refinements, of the people; but the accounts and investigation of recent philosophers and travellers have assisted to remove the delusion; and though, in many respects, the extent of their population, the riches, arts, and interior arrangements of this great empire, cannot be contemplated without admiration; yet

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* The Chinese, say the Mahomedan travellers, are addicted to the hateful vice, and the filthy practice of it they number among the indifferent things they perform in honour of their idols. It is to be feared that the Chinese have not yet renounced this practice! Renaudot, 1 Acc. p. 34.

They also accuse the Chinese of being Cannibals. Marco Polo, in some respects, confirms this accusation. Ibid. p. 35-44. Rem. 33.

The ancient Massagetæ, when any one was far advanced in years, called together their immediate friends and neighbours, and having sacrificed him, made a common feast upon his dead body. The Chinese were also said to have eaten the bodies of criminals executed, and of their enemies slain in war. Herod. Lib. I. Sect. ccxvi.

the picture will appear less brilliant, when compared with their odious vices, ignorance, and profligate idolatry.

Mr. Barrow, whose labours have greatly contributed to illustrate this subject, after contrasting the present state of the Chinese with their boasted morality, high polish, refined delicacy, and ceremonious exterior, concludes his remarks upon their civil and social institutions, by saying, "that, with few exceptions, they exist more in "state maxims than in the minds of the people."

Barrow's China p. 222.

From the testimony of the same writer, some estimate may also be formed of the state of Chinese learning; and unless the men of letters, as they are called, apply to real science, it would be in vain to hope for any essential change in the manners of the people.

Whatever may have been the primitive religion of China, it no longer exists, or exists only in a corrupted state; and there is at present no national, and scarcely any state religion. The articles of faith are as various as the modes of worship; and the people appear actuated rather by the dread of evil in this life, than by the fear of punishment hereafter: thus the duties they perform are more with a view to appease an angry Deity, and to avert impending calamities, than from any hope of obtaining a positive good. Since the accession of the Tartar Princes, the tenets of Confucius have yielded to those of Fo or Buddha, who appears to be the same personage as the Lama of Thibet. The Government interferes not in religious opinions. The Emperor, who unites in his own person all the imperial and sacerdotal functions*, supports his own ministers, which are those of all his Tartar subjects. The disciples of Confucius and men of "learn-"ing, and the state officers, contribute to the maintenance of theirs,

Lamic worship.

Barrow

De Pauw.

* Despotism has, in fact, overturned priesthood in China, and trampled it under foot. The Chinese had certainly their national priests, as well as all the nations of Scythia.

" whether of Fo, or Tao-tzee; and the mass of the people, from the " prevailing propensity of inquiring into futurity, upon every the " most trivial occurrence of life, afford the means of support to " thousands, nay, it may be said to millions of priests, by the of- " ferings carried to their altars, whenever they find it necessary to " consult the Book of Fate."

Barrow's China p. 486. De Pauw, Egypt and China, Vol. II. sect. viii. p. 164.

But though China has no national priesthood, many splendid provisions have been made in honour of their religious mysteries: the Bonzes and Monks are numerous; who, in their great festivals, administer in the sacrifices, and serve in the temples.

The Tao-tzee, or Sons of Immortals*, so called from the use of a certain drink, which was supposed to impart immortality to those who partook of it, were founded by Laokium, who had travelled into Thibet, in periods far beyond all authentic history. Their creed seems to be the Lamic worship somewhat disfigured; or perhaps the religion of the sect of the Immortals, recorded by the Greek authors as existing among the Scythian hordes, and carried by the Getæ into Thrace.

De Pauw, Egypt and China, Vol. II. p. 176—198.

Herodot. Lib. IV. sect. xciii. xciv.

The Priests of Laokium considered pleasure, ease, and indolence, as the only objects of human desire; they devoted themselves to a life of celibacy, associated in convents, and amused the gazing multitude with mystical rites, and all the mummery of charms and invocations. Their temples are crowded with monstrous figures, representing, as they say, the good and evil Genii, under the various passions, to

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* The Scythians, known more particularly by the name of Sacæ, infected the Persians with their opinions concerning an immortality to be procured from vegetables. All the eastern nations eagerly adopted it; and thence it travelled into Europe. The ingenuity of the Greeks displayed it in the ambrosia of their Gods. The Magi in the shrub, called *Hom*; the Arabians, in their elixirs, magical studies, and their talismans; the modern nations of Europe, in their frivolous researches after grand specifics, alchemy, and the efficacy of plants and minerals.

De Pauw, Vol. I. p. 323.

which nature is liable; or they are the agents and attributes of the Deity for the better government of the universe.

Before the accession of the Tartar dynasty, the hatred of the rival sects of Fo and Tao-tzee broke out into open acts of violence. The sect to which the royal favour inclined, persecuted its adversary with unceasing hostility; and as the preference of the Court quickly varied, according to the intrigues of the eunuchs, the two parties were engaged in continual warfare. "They were, however, wars of "priests alone, in which the people remained neutral, or took no "active part; whole monasteries have been levelled with the "ground, and thousands of priests put to death on both sides."

Bartow's Chin. p. 479.

The Mogul and the Mantcheu Tartars, by the conquest of China, have given the predominance to the religion of Thibet. The emperors, and the descendants of these conquerors, still follow the worship of the Dalai, or Grand Lama*. For the religion of the Tartars, though, in many respects accommodated to the various creeds of the nations on whose territories they border, maintains its great seat, more especially of those tribes bordering upon India and China, at Lassa, the capital of Thibet.

Immortality is one of the attributes of the Lama†, who is the sovereign and ecclesiastical supreme of the Thibetians. It is believed that he can never die, but that when old age or infirmities have

Mosheim, Hist. Ecc. Tart. c. iii. sect. iii.

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* In the Tangut or Thibetian language, Lama signifies a Priest, or minister of religion. The palace, or monastery of the Grand Lama, is on the mountain of Putálá, adjoining the city of Lassa. The Lamas are a tribe like the Brahmins, set apart for the services of law and religion. See, on this subject, Turner's Embassy to Thibet.

An embassy was sent from Mr. Hastings, in 1784, when the Lama was only three years old, and under the care of his priests; yet the highest reverence was paid him, and he seemed to be courted with divine honours.

† A chief Druid resided in Britain. His power extended over the laity, as well as the clergy, in all the nations of Celtic origin, and seems to have been similar to that of the Grand Lama.

Millar's Eng. Gov. 4to. p. 104.

seemed to impair his powers, his soul passes immediately into the person of his successor, which, regenerated in the form of an infant, can only be discovered by certain tokens known to the Priests. The Teeshoo Rajah, who is next in sanctity to the Lama himself, is the sole regent during his minority. During this period, the Lama is under the care of his parents, attended by Priests, who direct his counsels, and administer in the offices of religion. The era of his inauguration is celebrated with the highest pomp and splendor, and the most costly presents are sent from China, Tartary, and every region where his influence is acknowledged. Appendix, Tartary.

Sir William Jones conceives that the people of Thibet were anciently Hindus, who ingrafted the heresies of Buddha upon the old mythological religion; for the Lamic worship seems, in many respects, to bear a close affinity* to that of the Brahmins of the present age; many of the same objects, more especially the cow and the waters of the Ganges, obtain, with both nations, an equal degree of reverence; and the sacred Lotos, engraven upon most of the walls of the Thibetian temples, is there entitled to the same mysterious devotion, as in the most ancient pagodas of Hindostan. Sir W. Jones, Vol. I. p. 122.

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* See Turner's Embassy to Thibet, chap. viii.

CHAP. IV.

RELIGION OF IRÂN, OR ANCIENT PERSIA.

Vide Gibbon, on the Magi, Vol. I. c. viii.

THE primœval religion* of the formerly mighty empire of Irân, or Persia, which, extending from the ridges of the Indian Caucasus, by the Oxus, the Caspian, and the Euxine seas, included all the provinces of the Assyrian Empire, and the fertile regions of Lesser Asia, was "that which Sir Isaac Newton calls the oldest," (and it may be justly called the noblest) of all religions; "a firm belief that "one Supreme God made the world by his power, and continually "governed it by his Providence; a pious fear, love, and adoration of "him, a due reverence for parents and aged persons, a fraternal af-"fection for the whole human species, and a compassionate tender-"ness even for the brute creation."

Sir W. Jones, 6th Annivers. Disc. on the Persians.

Hyde, Rel. Vet. Persar. p. 3.

But this sublime system of devotion, derived from Shem, Elam, and the Patriarchs, declined in the lapse of ages; the popular worship became corrupt, and the memory of the Supreme was lost or con-

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* The religion of Ancient Persia is so immediately connected with all the eastern creeds, that it could not be passed over without some notice. "Irân was the an-"cient name of the country. The word Persia, according to Ouseley, is derived "from Pars, the name of a province, the most remarkable, as being the usual resi-"dence of the kings. It is now, after the Arabian manner, substituting F for P, "usually written Farsistan."

Epit. Ancient Persian Hist.

See Hyde, Rel. Vet. Persar. cap. xxxv.

Mr. Scott Waring says, it might be proved that the Brahmins once prevailed in Persia. In the Shah Namu, of Ferdousee, Ky-Kaoos, one of their kings, is accused of being a Brahmin. See Sir W. Jones's Works, Origin of Families and Nations, Vol. I.

Tour to Sheeraz.

founded in the adoration of the "*Host of Heaven*," and in the sacrifices offered to the elements of fire and water *. The early intercourse between Irân and India, the resemblance which the ancient Persian bears to the Sanscrit character and language, the ancient division of the people into four castes, or orders; the religious, military, commercial, servile; their 14 incarnations, or appearances of Mâhâbâd, like those of Menu, their dread of profaning their rivers †, the peculiar regard shewn in their ancient temples to the preservation of the sacred fire, appear to justify the opinions of the learned in Oriental history, that the religion of the Brahmins and the Persians was derived from the same source.

"Copias cœlestes," in lege Mosis.

"Hindostan is said to have paid an annual tribute to Persia, and "that even in the time of its most warlike princes;" and according to Sir W. Jones, a dynasty of Hindoo Princes, called Mahâbâdian, a title evidently of Sancrit origin, formerly sat on the throne of Irán: the Persian language, indeed, as now spoken, is of no great antiquity, Arabic words having been first introduced by the Poets of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries; but six or seven words in ten, of the ancient and venerable language of Persia, called the Zend ‡, were

Dow's Hindost.

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* Seven hundred and fifty years before Christ, the sect of Buddha complained to the reigning Prince, that the followers of Brahma, *worshippers of fire*, voluntarily precipitated themselves into the flames, on the altars of their Gods. "Vindication "of the Hindoos, 1808," from the Ayeen Akbary Account of Malwah.

Scott Waring's Sheeraz.

† The lower classes of the Persians still conceive that their baths would be polluted if a Christian were to use them; and that even to be touched by one would render them *nugis*, defiled. The higher orders are more liberal.

‡ The Zend is a book which was supposed to have contained all the pretended revelations of Zoroaster, and was composed in a cave, in his retirement; a work published by Anquetil du Perron, was said to be a genuine translation of the Zendavesta, or Work of Zoroaster; but Sir William Jones strenuously denied its authenticity. A Persian MS. copy of this work, which he supposed to be spurious, may be seen in the Library of Eman. Coll. Cambridge.

Hyde, Rel. Vet. Persar. cap. xxv. Prideaux's Connect. Vol. I. p. 317.

pure Sanscrit. Time has not obliterated the ancient religious connection of the two nations; at this day, some of the Hindoo sects retain their fire altars* at Benares, or Casi, the sacred college of Brahminical knowledge, where the fires are continually blazing; and devotees are found who attempt to preserve them unextinguished through their lives. But this custom is not confined to Benares; it prevails in regions far remote from its jurisdiction. Mr. Forster, in his Travels, has described a small volcanic fire issuing from the side of a mountain at Taullah Mohkee†, over which the Hindoos have reared a temple, that has long been celebrated in the Panjab. He observes, that all places producing any subterraneous flame are held in such veneration by the Hindoos, that they will not suffer any image to be placed near it; fearing that, as fire is the emblem of the Deity, other symbols would tend to sully the purity of this representation. The Hindoos, who are most conversant in the rites of their religion, never omit, at the first sight of fire, in the course of the day, to offer up a prayer of adoration. Those who have passed the Attock, for commercial purposes, are said, by Mr. Scott Waring, to live unmolested by the Persians, and to be neither insulted nor oppressed by the Government; and even at Baku, a port on the Caspian Sea, in the province of Shirvan, an Atashgah, or place of fire, was religiously preserved and attended by the Hindoo mendicants and Moultan merchants who resided there.

Forster's Trav. Vol. I. p. 308.

Sheeraz, p. 4.

Forster, Vol. II. p. 228.

Maurice, A. H. Hindostan, Vol. I. Pref. xix.

"It was believed that the virtuous Shem continued, after his death,

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Ouseley's Epit. P. Hist. p. 80.

* According to the ancient Persian, the same word signified a fire temple, and the angel or genius that presided over it.

† Taullah Mhokee signifies the mouth of the flame. This place is situated nine miles to the northward of Nadone, the principal town in the Kangrat territory.

"to shed on mankind a beneficent beam, in the Mithra or solar "Deity of his progeny, the Persians," as Ham or Hammon did upon the Ægyptians under the name of Jupiter. But a reverence paid to him on account of these supposed benefits could not long be innocently observed. Under the name of Mithra, the sun was soon adored with solemn sacrifices, and propitiated by human victims. Herodotus.

Like the two Buddhas of India, history has given birth to two Zoroasters, or Zeratushts. Of the first, the Greek and Latin authors differ in their relation, and his tenets are buried in such remote antiquity, that the controversy cannot easily be decided. The second flourished in or soon after the reign of Gushtasp, or Darius Hystaspis, whose usual residence was at Balk, the capital of Bactriana, the modern Khorasan, or the Province of the Sun. This province was the most eastern of the Persian empire, and borders upon the mountains of Cashmire *, where the venerable Brachmans then principally maintained their seat of religion and learning †. If Zoroaster was not the servant of one of the Jewish prophets, and acquainted with Daniel or Ezekiel, who were at that time Persian captives, it is probable that the Jewish Scriptures were not unknown to him. This is, however, rather matter of conjecture, than of positive historical evidence; nor is there any better proof of his communication in the capital of Irân with Pythagoras, who must have B. C. 486. Hyde, Rel. Vet. Persar. cap. xxiv.

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* The empire of Cashmire formerly extended not only over the mountains of Tartary, but over a large portion of the peninsula of Hindoostan, including the island of Ceylon, &c. "Bernier."

† Hyde says, that Gushtasp transplanted the Zoroastrian religion into Cashmire; the western princes of India, then being subject to his power, were commanded to adopt its tenets, and renounce their idolatry. Gushtasp built a splendid Pyreum at *Bamyan, or Balk*, to which the Persians made every year a solemn pilgrimage. After his conquest of India, Darius learned from the Brahmins the principles of astronomy, and infused many of their sacred rites into the Magian creed. Hyde, Rel. Vet. cap. xxiii. p. 28.

See, on the Magian worship, Cudworth Intellect. Syst. B. I. c. iv. p. 285—

been then far advanced in years. Zoroaster * was the reformer and great prophet of the Magians, who, from the crimes and ambition of their order under Smerdis, laboured at this time under the severest persecution and obloquy. It is said that he found the Persians immersed in the grossest idolatry, and devoted to the superstitious rites of the Sabian worship. From whatever sources he had acquired his knowledge, it is probable that his first appearance as a reformer was in Media, now called Aderbijan, for this country has from distant ages been the reputed seat of fire worship. It has been supposed to be the *Ur* of the Scriptures, and by the concurring testimony both of European and Mahomedan travellers, is still pointed out as the ancient residence of the *Guebres or Gaurs.*

Sir W. Jones, Vol. V. p. 570.

Chardin's Travels.

Tavernier, P.T. Paris.

In opposition to the Magians, who held light and darkness, or good and evil, to be the supreme Beings or causes of all things, Zoroaster affirmed, that there was one Supreme Being, independent and self-existent, from all eternity. He maintained also a metaphysical theology similar to that of the Hindus, of two coeval principles, subordinate indeed to the supreme; the one, the angel of light, the other of darkness; that they are in a perpetual struggle with each other, which shall continue to the end of the world; that good or evil prevail accordingly as each predominates; and, finally, that there shall be a general resurrection, and day of judgment and retribution.

Hyde, Rel. Vet. Persar. cap. ix.

Prideaux, Vol. I. p. 304.

Hitherto the sacred fire had only been preserved on the tops of hills or high places in the open air: but that the fire might not be extinguished, and the offices of religion be more securely performed,

Herod. Lib. I. c. cxxxi. Strabo, Lib. XV.

Hyde's Relig. Vet. Persar. Gibbon, R. Em. c. li.

Prideaux Connect. Vol. I. Part I. B. IV. p. 303.—Chardin's Travels.—Origines Sacræ. When Yezdejird, the last prince of the Sassanides, was defeated by the Arabs, he solicited the friendship of Taitsong, the Emperor of China. A colony of Persians had recently introduced into that empire the astronomy of the Magi.

* Ille enim tantùm Pyrodulium de novo reformavit, et eandem ampliavit et auxit. Hyde.

Zoroaster first ordered that temples should be erected over the altars. The sun, the brightest and the most splendid object in the visible creation, was supposed to be the Shechinah, in which the Deity more particularly dwelt, and therefore in their prayers the Persians turned themselves towards the east *; for that was their Kebla, whence the sun first rises to enlighten the world †. Fire, as the purest element, and the most luminous emblem of the sun, was therefore religiously preserved, as an exalted object, on whose lustre they fixed their eyes, when they humbled themselves before the altar, and acknowledged their dependence upon God.

" Pyratheia."

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* Kebla, among the eastern nations, signifies that point in the heavens towards which they directed their worship. The Jews did it towards the temple of Jerusalem, the Mahomedans towards the Caâba of Mecca, the Sabians towards the meridian, and the Magians to the *rising sun*. " According to the Vedas, the Brahmins direct their " prayers to the east." Tavernier.

Hyde's Relig. Vet. Persar. p. 8. Prideaux. Connect. Vol. I. p. 307.

† That fire was ever held in the highest reverence, may be collected from the opinions of almost all the ancient sects, Chaldæans, Magians, Hindus, and Platonists, who all believed that the world would be destroyed by it. The noble principle of the πῦρ ζοητικον of the Stoicks, the universal agent of all nature; the ψυχὴ κοσμου of the Platonists, which, emanating from the sun, for that, like the other orbs of heaven, was thought to be composed of ætherial fire, was diffused through the boundless universe. The Greeks preserved a fire in the temple of Apollo, the Romans intrusted its charge to the Vestal Virgins. The Jews had their sacred fire, according to the Levitical Law. All nations have had their fires and altars.—Les Brames lui addressent tous les matins des Prières. Aguini est le Dieu du feu, ils ne l'adorent, (they say) que parceque le feu est le figure de Chiven " Seva," Dieu destructeur."—In Apollonius's visit to Upper India, he describes the magnificent temple of the sun at Taxila. The sun was adored as the brightest symbol of the Deity.

Sonnerat. Voyaux Indes, Vol. I. p. 196.

The Natchez of America worshipped the sun with singular honours, and preserved with the same reverence the sacred fires; and ministers were appointed to watch over and feed them.

Robertson's America, Vol. II. p. 191. 8vo.

Sumpto exemplo ab igne altaris in templo Dei. Persæ etiam didicerunt in suis Pyræis ignem servare perennem, quem quamvis non cultu divino adoraverint, nimio tamen superstitiosè habuerunt, et hodiè habent.

Hyde, Relig Vet. Persar.

The symbols and representatives of the divine perfection soon however became the sole objects of pious and ignorant reverence. From the notion of good and evil spirits arose a favourable opinion in the efficacy of charms and sortilege, the force of incantations, and a belief in the dæmons and the genii of the nether and the upper world; hence a learned man and a Magian became equivalent terms, and the mysteries performed at their sacred rites obtained for the initiated the name of magicians. Astrology, with all its dark and monstrous absurdities, was cultivated with an industry worthy of a better cause; and the caves of Mithra, where the higher mysteries of their founder were at first exhibited to the noviciates, after solemn sacrifices, and austere probationary penances, became at length, like the prohibited rites of Isis, the scene of abominations the most disgusting to reason and humanity *.

Appendix, Astrology.

Maurice.

Eccles. Hist. c. iii. Socrat. Scholast. p. 288.

But whatever may have been the opinions and fortune of Zoroaster, it is certain that the Magian worship continued to flourish in Persia under the patronage of many of its kings, until the fatal victory of the Arabians in the seventh century †, over the last prince of the Sofi family, gave a new dynasty to the empire, and introduced the creed of Mahomed; and except in some places of Kerman, and in a small district of Ader-bijan (Media), where it is still said to exist in silence and retirement; no symbol or vestige of its ancient faith can now be discovered in this once mighty empire.

Antiq. Carmania.

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* Hyde says, that the Greeks and Romans perverted the rites of Mithra, and introduced into them customs unknown to the Persians, who looked only on Mithra, or the Sun, as the emblem of the divine effulgence. Cap. iv.

† "The last decisive battle between the Persians and Arabs was fought at Novahend, a city of Cuhestan, or ancient Parthia, A. D. 641. It is called by the Arabs "the Day of Victories."

Ousley, Epit. Pers. Hist. Sir W. Jones, Vol. V. p. 570. Gibbon, R. E.

The Persians who would not adopt the Koran, fled to seek an asylum in more distant shores *. Accompanied by one of their princes, some of them took shelter in the island of Ormus, whence they sailed some time after for India, and landed at Diu. Here they continued only a few years, and embarking again, were driven by the winds upon a pleasant shore, between Surat and Bassein, on the coast of the Guzzurat, where they found protection from a prince of the country, whose favour they endeavoured to conciliate by some relaxation in their religious mysteries. "A happy necessity," says Raynal, "had "made them contract a habit of labour, so that both the land and the "manufactures prospered under their management; to their indus-"try the Guzzurat owed a large portion of its prosperity; peace "and affluence increased their resources and population, extended "their commercial relations, and spread their colonies further up "the country." They have always remained a separate people, distinguished by the name of Parsees, never intermarrying with the Indians, and adhering firmly to the principles which occasioned their banishment from their native country. Their tenets are those of Zoroaster, somewhat altered by time, ignorance, and the rapaciousness of priests. A colony of them is settled at Bombay †, where,

Vide Gibbon, R. E. c. li. Vol. V. 4to.

Gaurs, Parsis, Guebrs.

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* The Parsees have still a suburb at Ispahan, which is called Gaurabad, (Gaur and Gebre being in Arabic an Infidel), where they are employed in the meanest and vilest drudgeries of the town. In the year 500, A. D. some Parsis took refuge in China, carrying with them their sacred books, which were translated into the Chinese language. There are also some in the barren province of Kerman, where Zoroaster had raised a principal Fire Temple.

Chardin's Travels. Prideaux, Vol. I. p. 350.

† The Guebrs, who build the finest ships in the world, entertain the same aversion to the sea as their ancestors, nor can they be induced to embark on it. There are some Guebrs at Surat, who are distinguished by the simplicity of their manners. In defence of their doctrines, when taxed with the adoration of Mithra, their priests replied, "Se non exhibere divinam aliquam adorationem Soli, aut Lunæ, aut "Planetis; sed tantùm erga Solem se convertere inter orandum:" and at another time

Vincent's Peripl. p. 233. Sonnerat, Vol. I. p. 40. Prideaux, Vol. I. p. 331. ex Ovington's Trav. Guyon's N. H. East Indies, Vol. I. p. 487.

under the protection of the British Government, they enjoy the full freedom and exercise of their religion. They are represented as a harmless and inoffensive race, of simple and peaceable manners; which is perhaps a principal reason why they have been tolerated by the Mahomedans, though the hatred of the two sects is inconceivably great, and was probably the cause of their severe persecution under Tamerlane. They have no temples, nor public places for the exercise of their religion. Fire is still esteemed by them the most sacred emblem of the Deity; it is still most religiously preserved, and the greatest misfortune that could happen to a Parsi, would be to have it so far extinguished on his hearth, as to be obliged to kindle it elsewhere. Notwithstanding this devotion, they profess their belief in the Divine Unity; considering Fire, and the Rising Sun, as only creatures, in which more of the Deity resides than in any other, not as the objects of adoration, but as the symbol of the Divine Effulgence. They acknowledge a resurrection and a future judgment, utterly detesting idolatry, though accused of it so vehemently by the Mahomedans.

Hyde, Relig. Vet. Persar. sparsim.

they urged, "quòd Sol proprius accedat ad naturam ignis."—"Ignis, jussu divino, "perpetuò ardens et inextinctus, fuit servatus in Templo Dei Hierosolymitano, ergo "et Persæ talem in suis Pyræis, eodem exemplo ducti, habuerunt quasi cœlitus ac- "censum." Professor Hyde thus vindicates them—"Quod nullas preces pendebant "directè ad ignem, sed omnes preces suas dirigebant immediatè ad Deum omnipoten- "tem," and says, that neither the ancient Persians, nor the Indian Persians, who follow the example of their ancestors, can be accused of idolatry. In this opinion he is also supported by the evidence of Tavernier, and other authors, who had questioned the priests of the Guebrs, both in Kirmân and Ispahan, upon this subject. The distinction is indeed difficult, and must inevitably lead to error, between Pyrolatria and Pyrodulia; or the mere respect and reverence paid to Fire as an emblem of Divine purity, and the adoration and homage exacted from it as an object of worship.—"Apud Persas non erat Mithræ cultus aliquis divinus, sed tantum civilis et ceremo- "nialis." The Greeks, from ignorance, imputed to them the worship of the Planets, &c.

CHAP. V.

OF THE KORAN.

When the Portuguese arrived in India, they found the Mahomedan religion * flourishing amid the superstitions of the Hindus. It was recorded, that the ancient Zamorin or Emperor †, whose principal residence was at Calicut, had, more than 600 years before their arrival, received the Moors with the greatest hospitality, and, having introduced them into credit in his kingdom, had at last embraced their faith. The greatest part of the Indian Mahomedans, at this period, were either merchants attracted thither by the prospect of wealth, or descendants of the Arabs or Tartars who, after the conquest of Persia, all Asia, from Romania to Transoxana, and the countries on the borders of the Indus, had united to their standards, the Afghan tribes of the frontier mountains, and overwhelmed with their combined forces some of the principal provinces of the peninsula. But the Ko-

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* Mahomedans were found settled at Malacca, Sumatra, and the Moluccas, but along the eastern coast and islands, they were not so numerous. Many of the Hindoo princes of the peninsula had been induced to adopt Islâm on account of the protection they were led to expect from the Arabian Caliphs, and the chief officers of their courts were often Moors, or Asiatic Turks, called *Rumis*, who made a considerable settlement at Diu, and were for some time troublesome to the Portuguese. C. de Guyon, N. H. Indies, Vol. I. p. 467.

† *Sarama Payrimal*, the last of these princes, or, as he was called by the Mahomedan travellers, the Balhara, or King of Kings, sailed in an Arabian vessel to end his days at Mecca. The Balhàra mentioned in the Nubian geographer, Maurice, M. H. H. Vol. I. p. 224. is said to have worshipped the idol Budda, "colitque idolum "Bodda." Renaud. Rem. Anc. Religion, p. 24.

ran was not merely confined to the continent; it spread rapidly over the islands of the eastern ocean, where, in the earliest ages of Mahomedanism, some of the Arabs, uniting the double character of priest and merchant, had successfully propagated their religious opinions, and firmly established their power. The princes of these islands wanted that intercourse which the merchants were enabled to procure for them; their superiority in knowledge and civilization gave them an advantage in their councils, which was supported by all the influence and authority of the Caliphat, now in the zenith of its glory, under the splendid administration of the Abbassides. On the coast, also, in order to ingratiate themselves with their new masters, some of the Indian princes and their vassals, appear to have abandoned the religion of their country, for a new form of worship, composed of a mixture of Mahomedanism, and some of their own superstitions. There was, besides, a race of people descended from the slaves of the Mahomedans, who, after having been instructed in their doctrines, and circumcised, were admitted to freedom, and inhabited a considerable portion of the peninsula, from Goa to Madras. They are still a distinct people, known by the name of Coolies, generally addicted to servile and laborious exercises, and professing a species of Islàm, greatly corrupted by the Indian superstitions.

The religion of the Koran owed its birth to Arabia, a country which has been famous from all antiquity for the happiness of its climate, fertility, and riches. Defended by their native rocks and deserts, the Arabians had often fought for their liberty, but had never been subdued.

Disert. IV. On the Arabians.

Before the birth of Mahomed, it is alleged by Sir William Jones, that the Arabians were pure Theists. Many extant verses, of an unsuspected antiquity, contain pious and elevated sentiments on the justice, the power, and the omnipresence of Allah Taàlah, or the God of the Universe; but an adoration of the Sun, Genii, the Firmament, and the Stars of Heaven, the use of divination, and all the mystic

rites of the Sabian worship, prevailed among the lower orders of the people *.

The distinguishing character of the people of Yemen and Hedjaz, the Arabia the Happy of the Greeks and Romans, had long been a contempt of riches, and even of death; but at this time their morals were greatly relaxed, and their virtues had degenerated into the opposite vices; their liberality had deviated into "mad profusion; their "courage into ferocity, and their patience into an obstinate spirit of "encountering fruitless dangers." "Little more could indeed be ex-"pected from men of open hearts and boiling passions, with no law "to controul, and little religion to restrain them." See Sale's Kor. Vol. I. Prelim. Disc. p. 40.

The disputes and contests of independent tribes, had long inured them to the toils of war; when they were, therefore, urged to conquest by the combined influence of glory and religion, the impulse was irresistible, and there is less reason to be astonished at the extent of their victories, and the diffusion of their faith. When the Arabs over-ran Persia, they are described by Ferdousi, a great master of Asiatic manners, "as exulting in their liberty, delighting in eloquence, "acts of liberality, and martial achievements, and thus making the "whole earth red as wine with the blood of their foes, and the air "like a forest of cane with their spears." Sir W. Jones, Dissert. IV.

Other causes had also combined to promote their success. At this period, the Persian empire was convulsed by the disputes of the sectaries, and the Magian worship had been restored on the ruins of the Christian faith; the provinces were overwhelmed with misery and disorder, and all confidence in the government was destroyed. The Greek empire under Heraclius made at first a successful stand against the valour of its assailants; and whilst the Arabians fought in petty tribes, the Roman arms were enabled to prevent their advances into

* The inhabitants of Arabia Deserta seem always to have professed a less rational worship, adoring the Sun, and offering to it human sacrifices.

Syria. But no sooner had the Koran united them under one head, and the Byzantine Prince had become tributary to the Khâgan of the Huns, than the Arabs, bursting through every opposing obstacle, poured like a deluge upon the fairest provinces of the empire, and humbled the Grecian banners in the dust.

As the relative political situation of these two great empires was favourable to the arms, their religious state was still more propitious to the views of the Arabian leader. The persecutions of the various sects which had issued from the bosom of Christianity, had driven many of their followers into Arabia, where they found an asylum from the fury of their enemies. Judaism was also in part the religion of the country; for long before the destruction of Jerusalem, one of the ancient Arabian kings had not only himself adopted it, but converted to it many of his subjects. Several independent tribes were also of this persuasion; and the commerce and connection of Arabia with Greece, Persia, and India, had introduced the exploded opinions of the Manichees and Magi, the Metempsychosis, and many other tenets of Brahminical origin. Whether the desire of eminence and unlimited sensual indulgence, the opinion usually adopted by Christian writers, or the nobler ambition of rescuing his countrymen from their idolatrous practices, was the design of the Prophet, cannot easily be determined. It is probable that his first views might have been limited, and that unexpected success tempted him to a bolder enterprise. Enthusiasm came in aid of his ambition, until at length developing his adventurous plan, he pursued it with a steadiness and resolution which no difficulties could surmount.

Oakley's Sarac. Vol. I. p. 193.

Of Mahomed it is ingenuously confessed, that he owed all his accomplishments to nature, and that his learning *, the education cus-

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Sir J. Chardin's Trav. in Persia.

* The Mahometan Doctors do not scruple to aver, that he knew not even the alphabet; and they do this the more willingly, that they may the better thence conclude, that his knowledge was supernatural.

tomary in his tribe, was only that confined knowledge of the poets of his country, whose most favourite passages were committed to the memory. But whatever may have been his learning, it is certain that he was a man of most extraordinary parts and address, and these were improved by his great experience and knowledge of men, and the observations he had made in his travels as a merchant.

His principal tenet was the unity of the Deity, which, in his opinion, was violated by all the rest of the world, and his professed object was to deliver mankind from ignorance and superstition, to unite the professors of the three different religions, then followed, in the populous country of Arabia, Christians, Jews, and idolators, into one form of worship, "and to bring them all to the obedience of himself, as the "prophet and ambassador of God, who, after the repeated admoni- "tions, promises, and threats of former ages, was at last to establish "and propagate God's religion on earth by force of arms, and to be "acknowledged chief pontiff in spiritual matters; as well as supreme "prince in temporal."

Sale's Koran, Prelim. Disc. p. 47.

Ibid. a Golius, p. 82.

But though the great and fundamental position of the Koran be the unity of the Deity, and an utter abhorrence of every species of idolatrous observance, it is evident, that so far from adhering to this doctrine, many of its precepts and sanctions, rites and ceremonies, bear a strong affinity to the superstitions of the age. Mahomed, it has been clearly ascertained, borrowed largely from the apocryphal books and traditions of the Jews and Christians, the wild fancies of the Magians and Manichees, and the particular opinions of some of the Arabian tribes, in order the more easily to reconcile them to the profession of his faith. The Prophet did not attempt to deny the credibility of either the Jewish or Christian scriptures, but he asserted, that they had been adulterated, and that no credit was to be given to the extant copies. He allowed a high and sacred character both to Moses and Jesus Christ; but he carefully inculcated the idea, that it was subordinate to his own, and that after his appearance all revelation

Sale's Koran, Vol. I. c. ii. Vol. II. c. xlii.

Chardin's Trav.

should be closed *. The present Mahomedans, notwithstanding their hatred to the Christians, do not deny that the Four Books, the Pentateuch, the Psalter, the Gospel, and the Koran, ever were, and always shall be, the rule of their faith; although they will not be convinced, that the greatest part of the truths and beauties of their Koran is borrowed from the Scriptures †.

Of the Koran it may be said, that if it contain many sublime expressions on the being and attributes of the Supreme, its general character is altogether unworthy the high credit which has frequently been attached to it. It abounds with notions the most absurd and fantastic, and with principles the most impious and contradictory. "The
Volney's Syria, Vol. II. p. 394. "whole," says an eastern traveller, "is a flat, fastidious composition, "a chaos of unmeaning phrases, an emphatical exclamation on the "attributes of God, from which nothing is to be learned, a collection "of puerile tales, and ridiculous fables; nor would it perhaps be difficult to demonstrate, that the convulsions of the governments for "the last 1200 years, and the ignorance of the people in the eastern "quarter of the globe, have originated more or less immediately in "the Koran and its morality ‡." The Prophet speaks of angels, ge-

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Sale's Koran, Vol. II. c. lxi. p. 436. n.

* The Mahomedan Doctors unanimously teach, that by the Paraclete, or, as they choose to read it, John xvi. 7. "The Periclyte, or Illustrious," their Prophet was intended, and no other.

A. H. Hindoos, Vol. II. p. 308, &c.

See on this analogy, C. de Guyon, N. H. East Indies, Vol. I. p. 418.

† Mr. Maurice has been at considerable pains to produce passages in the Koran, which were evidently taken from the Rabbinical writings, and the spurious Gospels, which then abounded in the East. The same parallel is also drawn between some of the distinguished features in the life of Creeshna, the favourite Deity of the Hindoos, and the relations of the apocryphal Gospels.

The life of Creeshna is to be found in the Bhâgvat Gheeta, supposed to have been composed by the poet Vyásá.

‡ It is remarked by Parke, that the Foulahs, a tribe of pastoral negroes, are naturally of a mild and gentle disposition; but that the uncharitable maxims of the Koran have rendered them more reserved in their behaviour, and less hospitable to strangers. Towards himself the general conduct of the negroes was kind and friendly, and the

nii, purgatory, or a place of rest between hell and paradise, of the state of the soul, and a resurrection, in terms too monstrous to be described. His day of judgment is a libel against the mercy, and his sensual paradise, a disgrace to the purity of the Divine Majesty *. The ground-work of these opinions, is manifestly to be traced, from purer sources; but the fancy or craft of the Impostor, has built upon it, a theory, more suitable, to the warm temper and imagination, of his countrymen. It is not, however, to be denied, that there are degrees of happiness in this paradise, nor are spiritual pleasures wholly excluded; but such delights are not brought to the level of the vulgar, who eagerly seize upon objects palpable and familiar to their senses; they are only formed to captivate the wise and the reflecting; and therefore, among the Mahomedan Doctors, there are some, who, to avoid the unfavourable impression made by such descriptions, refer the luxurious images, and gross conceptions of the Koran, to an allegorical acceptation. These nice discriminations cannot, however, be made by the ignorant Moslem, who, whilst the choice of such pleasures is unattended with evil, and even not contradicted by the plain text of the Koran, will not hesitate to prefer the enjoyments of sense, which are obvious and intelligible, to those of pure intellect and refined abstraction.

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severe treatment he occasionally met with, arose from the Moors, who, descended from the ancient tribes, which, inhabited the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, adopted Mahomedanism, and with it, the most cruel and intolerant principles. The cruelties of the Moors to the Negroes, are often a principal source of national misery and slavery.

* The Elysium of Indra, the Hindoo God of the Firmament, differs not greatly from that of Mahomed: that of the Vedanti school is more exalted and intellectual. The Hebrew Rabbins, in their pictures of a future state, did not exclude from it the most sensual pleasures. Their description of this state is equally glowing and luxuriant with that of the Moslems. Mahomed, in his fanciful descriptions of paradise, borrowed largely from the Magians. Hyde, Relig. Vet. Pers. cap. xxxiii. Maurice

Mahomed was severe in his prohibition of wine, in the fast of the Ramâdan *, in stated prayers and ablutions, and the absolute necessity of the pilgrimage to Mecca; but the unbounded indulgence he allowed his disciples, in matters of more essential importance, amply repaid them for a few trifling corporeal restraints: "*God*," says he to them, "*is minded to make* his *religion light unto you*, for *man is* "*weak*." How different this from the unaccommodating purity of the Gospel, which charges men not only to have regard to their actions, but even of their very thoughts, so that they be just and upright †!

Of the external rites prescribed by the Koran, it may be observed, that the system of ablutions was only an improvement, or rather a renewal of the practice of all eastern nations, with whom, frequent purifications, were as much a religious duty, as an essential requisite of health. The Arabians, the Persians, the Indians, the Jews, all practised this rite, and attached to it, peculiar degrees of sanctity. Mahomed carried this practice to the highest pitch of extravagance, imitating, in a great measure, the rigid traditions of the Hebrews. In the Koran, prayer, fasting, and alms, have each a separate scale of merit, a stated appointment, and regulation. "Prayer," said an Arabian Caliph, "carries us half-way to God, fasting brings us to the door of "his palace, and alms procure us admission." The Brahmins seem also to have attached the highest merit to charitable actions, and more especially to those, wherein, a Brahmin was concerned. They have artfully adjusted particular degrees of reward, according to the value

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* The Ramâdan was the month in which Mahomed asserted that the Koran was sent down from heaven.

† On the other tenets of Mahomedanism, see Sale on the Koran; Volney's Syria, Vol. II. p. 391.; Prideaux's Connect. and Life of Mahomed; Hamilton's Translation of the Hedaya, or Guide, in which it is recorded, that no less than 75,000 traditional precepts have been promulgated. Paley's Evid. Vol. II. p. 58.

of the gift, and assigned to their benefactors proportionate durations of bliss, in their celestial regions.

The pilgrimage * to Mecca grew out of the excessive veneration of the Arabs for the Caâba, or the stone building in the temple, to which the devout pilgrims, from the most remote antiquity, had been accustomed to pay a high reverence. All the eastern nations, appear to have been anxious, to derive the institutes of their religion, from Abraham, whose name is celebrated throughout all the East. The Pagan Arabs made this patriarch, the founder of their oratory, and had attached to it the most superstitious ceremonies. The Prophet was, however, desirous of abolishing the reverence paid to this place, but he found the stream of prejudice so violent in its favour, that he deemed it wiser to convert its sanctity to his own purposes; and thus gain the affection of a powerful tribe, by making it the resort of his followers. According to one of his traditions, "He who dies without performing it, may as well die a Jew or a Christian;" and the observance of this pilgrimage is most strictly commanded in the Koran. Nor was this custom merely confined to the Arabs of the Desert, nor to the nations immediately bordering on it; but it was carried by them into all the countries which they had either subdued as conquerors, or visited as friends. Pilgrimages, therefore, became frequent from the distant quarters of the world, and it was not unusual to meet at the sacred shrine, devotees from Spain, the islands of Europe, the

Gibbon, R. E. Vol. IX. p. 244.

Sale Koran, Prelim. Disc. p. 152.

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* On the conclusion of the rites of pilgrimage, sacrifices are offered in the sacred valley, in the precincts of the temple; and this appears to be the only time when the Mussulmen allow of them. We learn, however, on the authority of Knolles, that on great occasions, of famine, plague, or defeat of their armies, sacrifices were made by the priests. And in the dreadful plague of 1454, many beeves and sheep were sacrificed at all the gates of Constantinople.

Hist. Turks, p. 1332.

"Ex hoc Mahommedis dicto, constat, Arabum traditionem fuisse, quòd Abraham fuit fundator templi Meccani." See Hyde on the black stone of the Caâba.

Hyde Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 35.

shores and interior of Africa, Hindoostan, and the isles of the eastern ocean. "When a Mahomedan king dies," says Tavernier, "it is "the custom for his successor, to send the great lords of his court to "Mecca, with presents, as well to engage them to pray for the soul "of the deceased, as also to give thanks to God, and Mahomed, for the "coming of a new king to the throne without any impediment, and "to pray for the blessing of victory over all his enemies." The Portuguese writers mention a similar circumstance in one of the kings of the coast, on their first visit to India; and nothing has probably more contributed, than the sanctity affixed to the observance of this rite, to support the long-declining credit of the Koran.

Pt. II. B. III. c. XIV.

Concerning the multitude of other ceremonies, which the prophet has enjoined to his disciples, he does not attempt to ground them upon any reasonable design, or to prove their subserviency to any moral purposes; but contents himself with stating, that they are arbitrary appointments, not really good in themselves, but as they are commanded by God, to try the obedience of mankind, and therefore to be complied with.

So great is the veneration attached by the Moslems to the Koran, that no praises can, in their opinion, sufficiently exalt its character. They boast that it contains the seeds, and even the perfection, of all political and legislative knowledge and jurisprudence. Such an opinion is not, however, likely to prevail with any, but its own votaries; for whoever reads it must confess, that "it conveys no notion either of "the relative duties of mankind in society, of the formation of "the body politic, or of the principles of the art of governing; "nothing, in fact, which constitutes a legislative code."

Volney's Syria, Vol. II. p. 394.

The object of Mahomed appears, indeed, to have been the establishment, of an "absolute despotism, in him who governs, and the "blindest obedience, in him who obeys. He did not wish to en-"lighten men, but to rule over them; he sought not disciples, but "subjects, and obedience not reasoning is ascribed to subjects."

With all its defects, however, the Koran is the only code, civil and religious, of the Moslems. From its precepts and determinations, their civil regulations are derived; the laws, therefore, act upon the minds of the people, with all the force of religious prejudice. And though the commentaries of their great Doctors and Civilians, may explain a doubtful passage, or confirm a tradition, in its application to a particular case, which is also occasionally followed by the secular courts; the Koran is itself inviolate. In what regards the social relations of life, and the enforcement of punishments, the Koran partakes of the nature of the Jewish institutes. The Priests and Levites of the Mosaical dispensation, were confined to particular tribes and families. The Priests of the Hindus could only be taken from the privileged class of the Brahmins. But the office of Imam, and the body of the Ulema, though formerly the occasion of violent dissentions, is laid open to every professor of the Koran. Whether Othmans, or native Arabians, Tartar idolators, or Georgian slaves, all that enrol themselves under the banners of Mahomed, may aspire to the highest dignities of the law, and be elevated to the privilege of expounding its doctrines.

But the great motives by which the vivid fancy and intrepid spirit of the Arabs were stimulated to enterprise, when they had embraced Islâm*, was the promise of eternal life, and peculiar pleasures, to those who fell fighting in the wars of the Infidels. The sword, therefore, is well called by the Mahomedan divines, "the key of heaven "and hell, and the least drop of blood spilt in the service of "God, (*i. e.* the propagation of the Koran), a most acceptable ser-"vice."

The force of enthusiasm thus roused, was still further excited, by the doctrine; of God's having predestinated, even in the most minute

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* "Or the saving religion." Ockley's H. Saracens, p. 14. 219.

particulars, the adverse or prosperous fortune, of every person in the world. The followers of the prophet were therefore encouraged to fight without fear, and even desperately, for the propagation of their faith; since it was represented to them, that besides the merit of this service, and its eternal reward, all their caution could not avert their inevitable destiny, or prolong their lives for a moment.

The continual wars of the Arabs, on their first aspiring to empire, left them no leisure to enter into nice inquiries, or form subtle distinctions upon particular points of their creed, and the Koran was received implicitly and literally; but no sooner were the companions of Mahomed dead, and the ardour of conquest had abated, than the Koran was examined with more attention, and differences arose among its disciples.

The philosophy of the schools, and the idle discussions which had agitated the darker ages of the Christian church, mingled with the absurd tenets of the Koran, threatened the ruin of that great empire, which its ruder followers had established. Religious opinions were supported or silenced by the sword or the scaffold; nor could a torrent of blood satiate the fury of the enraged disputants. But the diversity of opinions which prevailed among the Mahomedans, did not so much consist in the different expositions *, which they put upon the Koran, as in the contrariety of belief which they received by tradition from the first successors of Mahomed. Hence arose the two sects of the Soonis, or true believers in the traditions of the Prophet and his successors, and to which belonged principally the Turks and the Tartars;

Gibbon, R. E. Vol. V c. l p. 260. Knolles' Turks, fol. 464.

* In the first periods of Mahomedanism, four Arabian Doctors, Malek, Ambel, Hanifee, and Shafee, made commentaries on the original text, which were adopted by sects, now severally distinguished by the names of the commentators. But these explanations did not militate with much force, against the first system, nor create any violent feuds, among the different sectaries. The Moslems have now as many sects as the Christians.

and the Shiis, or hereties, of which the Persians are the most conspicuous, both in zeal and numbers.

The origin of this feud, may be traced to the life of the Prophet. Ayesha, one, of his favourite wives, irritated, it is said, against Ali, his nephew, and son-in-law, for having discovered some of her intrigues, raised against him a powerful faction, at the head of which were the governors of Egypt and Syria, and opposed his succession to the Caliphat. A bloody war ensued, and Ali perished at Koufa by the hands of an assassin. His son Housain was equally unfortunate, being slain in an encounter with Moaowia, the Caliph of Damascus. The empire was in consequence divided into factions, and the name of Ali was alternately blessed, and execrated. The Fatemite Caliphs of Egypt, so called from Fatema, the wife of Ali, revolted to his cause, and added the name of Ali to that of the Prophet, in the proclamations of the Mouazem from the Minaret. The Egyptians were, therefore, rejected as heretics by the orthodox, who continued under the subjection of the Caliph of Bagdad, "the true vicar of God "upon Earth."

Volney's Syria, Vol. II. p. 34.

Ockley's Sarac. Vol. II. p. 73.

Renaudot, A.R. Remarks, p. 46.

The Persians call the Turks Osmanlis, because they assert "that "Osman was the true and lawful successor of Mahomed, the great "Caliph, and lawful sovereign, to whom alone belonged the in-"terpretation of the Koran, and the deciding the difficulties which "arise in the law." In return, the Persians are stigmatized as sectaries, for asserting, that Ali was the only assistant of the Prophet in his apostolical functions; whereas their adversaries believe in four, and add to the name of Ali, that of Abubekar, Omar, and Osman. The Sonna, or the traditions of the Prophet, and his successors, were collected 200 years after his death, by the orthodox Caliphs, the Abbassides; and are of canonical authority. The Shiis reject the Sonna as apocryphal, and altogether deny the three first Caliphs, to have been the rightful Imâms.

Bernier, Voy. Indes.

But whatever may have been the ancient cause of this feud, its revival, under circumstances of peculiar animosity, is ascribed to the 15th century; when a Shiah, of the name of Hyder, retiring from his native town of Ardebil, fixed his residence at Tauris, in Armenia, and taking advantage of the popular prejudice, asserted, as if divinely inspired, that none should enter the kingdom of heaven, but those of the sect of Ali, who, as the son-in-law of Mohamed, had been bequeathed the succession to the Caliphate, in exclusion of his rivals. The names of the three Caliphs, Abubeker, Osmar, and Osman, were pronounced accursed, at the five stated times of prayer, and an irreconcileable breach was thus made between the rival sects. Seduced by his doctrines, and the apparent austerity and holiness of his life, multitudes, both in Armenia and Persia, flocked to Tauris, until at length, attracting the notice of the Persian Court, Hyder was distinguished with the highest honours, and a Princess of royal blood, given in marriage, to his son Ishmael Sofi. The same good fortune attended the son, after his father's death; and an unforeseen revolution enabled him, in 1508, to mount the throne of Persia; an honour to which he also laid claim by right of descent, from the ancient kings of the country *. The favour of the monarch, gave not only security to the new opinions, but served to propagate them through Asia and every portion of his dominions; and during the long wars which followed between Turkey and Persia, the prejudice was so much cherished by the Government, and had so effectually been accomplished on the minds of the

Forster's Trav. Vol. II. p. 2.

See Tavernier's Persian Trav. B. V. ch. .

C. de Guyon, H. H. East Ind. Vol. I. p. 462.

* Others have ascribed the revival of this feud to the year 1363, when a learned man, of the name of Sofi, appeared at Ardebil, in Persia, and gave out that he was lineally descended from Hosein, the son of Ali, who had been wrongfully excluded from the throne, after the assassination of his father, and said that God had raised him up to recover Ali's glory.

people, that Nadir Shah, who was inclined to the Sonna, could not, either by force or persuasion, alter their opinions.

The Mahomedan Indians were principally of the Soonis sect; the Afghans, on this account, have imitated the example of Tamerlane, who persecuted the Shiites, and bear towards their Persian neighbours the most rooted antipathy. The Great Mogul, the Kings of Comorin, Java, the Maldives, Achem, Bantam, and Macassar, were also pure Mahomedans; those of Visiapour and Golconda were of the sect of Ali. At this day, all the empire of Persia, half the princes of the Uzbegs, whose dominions lie beyond the Gihon, and some of the Mahomedan Princes of India profess the Shiite opinions. The Shiites are also distinguished from the Soonis, by some trivial ceremonies; they are more fervent in their devotions, and less tolerant than their rivals, whom they will not suffer to eat at the same table with them. This hatred is carried to such an extremity, that a Persian would feel himself as much defiled, by any intercourse, with one of contrary opinion, as with a Christian. Some of this sect imagine Ali, to have been an incarnation of the Deity, delegated to complete the mission of the Prophet, and fix the basis of Islâm. To Hassein, or Hosein, the son of Ali, the Persians pay the highest reverence, and make frequent pilgrimages to his supposed tomb, near Bagdad*, to which they attach great merit. The commemoration of Hosein's death, in India, as well as Persia, is a high festival; the most extravagant signs of grief are exhibited at it, and the most desperate outrages committed in his honour, by his intoxicated and enthusiastic votaries.

Mosheim. Hist. Eccl. Tart. ch. iii. p. 127—130.

Ockley's Hist. Sarac. Vol. II. p. 73. Tavernier, B. III. ch. i.

Chardin's Trav. p. 387. Folio.

Forster's Trav.

Ockley's Sarac. Vol. II. p. 169.

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* The tomb of *Fatima*, at Coms, in Armenia, is held by the Shiites in the highest reverence. The Koran is read there night and day, and nearly the same privileges are offered to the Pilgrims, as at Mecca, that of having Paradise for their portion. For the reverence paid to Ali, see Tavernier, B. I. ch. vi. and B. II. ch. iii. Chardin's Trav. in Persia.

In all other material points, the Persians seem to concur with the orthodox Mahomedans, turning to the Kaâba with the same devotional reverences, and possessing a calendar, crouded with the names of celebrated saints, at whose reputed shrines, they offer the most respectful homage. "The morality of the present race of Persians is "extremely relaxed, and the mystic style of their favourite poets, "Sadee and Hafez, from the flexible disposition of the people, "will either support the spirit of suffering virtue, or justify the "crimes of successful vice."

Scott Waring's Sheeraz, p. 246.

CHAP. VI.

NATURE OF THE EASTERN CREEDS UNFAVOURABLE TO ALL RELIGIOUS IMPROVEMENT.

From this faint outline of the eastern creeds, intimately connected as they appear to be with the public and private obligations of the people, strengthened besides by all the force of a despotic Government, there will be less difficulty in discovering why the progress of all religious improvement has been hitherto retarded.

All the religion of the ancient world appears to have been founded upon misconceptions of natural religion, or imperfect notices of tradition. In the beginning of the world, kings and civil rulers were for the most part the ministers of religion. When sovereign princes laid aside this power, it was consigned to the care of a peculiar order or caste of men, to whose province it solely belonged, to consult the

Gods, offer the public sacrifices, and take charge of things sacred. Thus the Priesthood was either a support to the secular power, or it kept it in check. In the days of ignorance, superstition became a vehicle for ambition; the Priests resorted to craft and concealment, and the people were content to follow their ordinances in blind obedience. The Egyptian Priests had a sacred sacerdotal language, and hieroglyphic character, the use of which, was forbidden or unattainable by the vulgar. The Brahmins had their Devánágári (or the language of angels), which, they said, was delivered to the people by Brahma, in the same manner, as the elements of the sacerdotal language of Egypt, were supposed to have been imparted by the elder Hermes. The Jewish Rabbins boasted also of a celestial and mystical alphabet, communicated by Angels to the Patriarchs, their ancestors. The Persian Magi, like the Brahmins, were the hereditary counsellors of State, and, by the religious command of Zoroaster, were forbidden to teach their ancient language, or reveal their sacred scriptures to any stranger. The Egyptian Hierophants administered the laws, were the Prophets, Historians, and public Instructors; they alone regulated the distribution of the waters of the Nile, determined the land-marks, when the flood had subsided, and were employed equally in civil, and religious offices. The Druids and Scalds were the sole preceptors of the northern youth; they counselled the Princes in war, attended the camp, performed the sacrifices in the day of battle, and on every important solemnity proclaimed the will of the Gods, and the duties of man. In their hands were all the instruction and knowledge of the ruder ages; and the mystic rites of religion, veiled in impenetrable shades and gloomy terrors, served to awe the vulgar into submission and silence. The Druidical instruction was oral, and it required a period of twenty years ere the initiated could be perfect. Fenced round by such barriers, nothing could interrupt the reign of superstition. The policy of

Gentoo Code, p. 24.

Hyde, Rel. Vet Pers.

princes was supported by priestly artifices; ignorance, time, and fear, assisted in casting a film over the mind, which concealed from its view the brightness of truth, and the baffled courage of human reason dared not approach the limits of the enchanted circle.

Volney's Syria, Vol. II. p. 394.

"Reason, indeed, in the absolute Governments of the East, is sel-"dom called upon to exert her functions." The vulgar are ever moved by authority from the conscience of their own ignorance; and

Hooker, Eccles. Pol. p. 94.

not knowing why they should disapprove the opinions of their superiors, they allow and follow their judgments without inquiry. They take implicitly what their fathers have professed, because they will not trouble themselves to examine, whether the things, to which, they have been accustomed, are good or evil; the light of the understanding is thus obscured, and thus, in various nations, customs and practices, which natural reason must condemn, have gained the highest veneration. Time gives also a sanction to the greatest absurdities, and in the lapse of ages, the original motive to any custom is often not only forgotten, but the custom itself becomes, from its antiquity, of a nature so sacred, as to be observed without regard either to its design or utility.

Gent. Code, p. 15.

The writers upon the Hindus have observed, that "the faith of "a Gentoo (misguided as it is, and groundless as it may be) is "equally implicit with that of a Christian, and his allegiance to his "own supposed revelations of the Divine will altogether as firm. "He, therefore, esteems the astonishing miracles attributed to a "Brahma, a Raam, or a Kreshen (Creeshna), as facts of the most "indubitable authenticity, and the relation of them as most strictly "historical." Symmachus offers the same excuse for Paganism, which the Brahmins do for their idolatries. "Sequimur majores "nostros, qui feliciter secuti sunt suos." If, to this be added, the general ignorance of the Brahmins of the present age, the force of their prejudices will be found the more difficult to subdue; for the

antiquity of their religion will be pleaded as a proof of its excellence, and the veneration it has been held in by their wisest ancestors, will be a strong apology for their own adherence to it.

In confirmation of this opinion of the general ignorance of the Brahmins, it is recorded, that they cannot even read the books which contain their sacred records, but are altogether immersed in such deep sloth and depravity, that immoral practices, which the most barbarous nations would have feared to adopt, are at this hour, openly allowed and sanctioned, in the most public places and polished cities of Hindoostan. Of the people, the description is generally degrading; uninformed, and only careful of their ablutions and the particular customs* of their caste, they are said to have as little acquaintance with the moral precepts of their Sastras, as the Samoeides, or Hottentots, with the elegant arts of sculpture and painting. Appendix.

Devoted to their priests, and accustomed to look upon them as men of a diviner origin, and upon themselves as the lowest creatures, in the order of the human creation, the great mass of the Hindus are debarred, by irrevocable laws, from passing the limits to which

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* Infanticide, in every stage of unnatural cruelty, burnings, penances, burials alive, *women of the idol*, ordeal trials (see Appendix), the most infamous polygamy—the general immorality and prostitution of all that is just, honourable, and sacred. Bernier, Vol. I. Lettre sur les Gentils. Renaudot, A.R. 88, n. 35.

Similar practices were adopted in the decline of Grecian morals. In Corinth, the sacred name of religion finished the corruption which opulence began; a temple was erected to Venus, in which more than a thousand courtezans were consecrated to her service. The mysteries of the Grove of Daphne, on the banks of the Orontes, in the neighbourhood of the Syrian Antioch, were of a similar description. The Grove and Temple of the Dea Syria existed in the time of Constantine, at Amphipolis, and were destroyed by that Prince. On the worship of this Goddess, the Mylitta of the Assyrians, and the Aletta of the Arabs, see Herod. Clio, sect. 131—199, and Hyde, Rel. Vet. Persar. cap. iii. Maurice, Sonnerat, and the late account of Mr. Buchanan, p. 104. Esp. Ecc. Et. sparsim.

they are confined. Amid the continual exactions of the several masters, who have, for centuries past, desolated their fairest provinces, and left them, amidst public confusions, the chance only of a precarious existence, this fatal error has been still kept alive by the influence of the Brahmins, and assisted in debasing all the faculties of their minds. Ancient prejudices, therefore, and the habits of early life, have prevailed over the love of novelty, or the charms of independence, and the poor contemned and dejected Hindoo has hitherto been insensible to the voice of patriotism, or the beauties of a purer faith. If, however, in defiance of these obstacles, some of the Indians have had courage to renounce the errors of their country, the consequences have been exclusion from all social intercourse, a rupture of the dearest ties and connections, avoidance as from a person contaminated, and the dire necessity of relinquishing all those hopes and prospects, which equally bind men to life and to society. This is not only a picture of the Hindoo, but of almost every eastern nation, wherever the intolerant creed of Mahomed prevails: the same measures produce in all the same effects, and the same fate awaits them as apostates from the faith of their fathers*.

Yet, in this account of the general ignorance of the eastern nations, it would be an injustice to suppose, that some exceptions might not be brought against so heavy a charge; nor will it violate probability, if we should doubt whether the most enlightened Pundits, the

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Sonnerat, Voy. aux Indes, Vol. I. Liv. I. p. 58.

* The contempt, which the Brahmins had for the Europeans, made them look with invincible horror upon the Christian religion, and rendered them anxious to thwart its progress among their countrymen. When they spoke of Europeans, it was in terms the most revolting to their national prejudices—"*Ils sont des infâmes, qui mangent de "la Vache, & boivent du Vin.*" On all sides, the convert heard the dreaded sound of Paria, thrown upon his apostacy; and the fear of losing the privileges of his caste, and the intercourse of his friends, étouffent en lui les dispositions favorables, ou il pourroit être, d'embrasser la religion Chrétienne.

Moors, or the Chinese of the highest classes, can place any firm reliance, or attach much credit to their national creeds, or regard with any favour, that mass of mythology, of absurd and culpable opinions, with which folly and ambition have obscured the rays of divine truth. No reasonable man will believe that the Gymnosophists of Æthiopia, or the Hierophants of Egypt, could in reality adore the bull, the crocodile, the sparrow-hawk, the serpent, a leek, or an Ibis. These animals could only at first have been received as symbols, and allegorical representations, of the revered attributes of that Deity, whose power extended through various nature; or they were especially guarded by religious sanctions, and placed under the protection of the law, to denote their utility, and in order to preserve them in a country, whose wealth and cultivation in a great measure depended upon the stated overflowings of the Nile, the care of its dykes, and the destruction of those noxious reptiles, which infested the lands, when the waters had subsided. Nor can it be imagined, that the Greeks of the Court of Areopagus, or the Council of the Amphictyons, could confide in the wild responses of the Pythia; any more, than that a Roman senate, a Scipio, a Lælius, or a Cato, could depend upon the abstinence of the sacred Chickens, the tricks of the Pullarii, the flights of crows, the inspection of entrails, or the dreams of Augurs and Sybils.

The ignorant Egyptians, deceived by appearances, may have blindly paid a divine homage to every animal or symbol, that had formed a part of their religious ceremonies; but the ancient Hierophants, says Cudworth, taught, in the *secret* rites of their order, the doctrine of the Unity of the Godhead; and, like the initiated in the Eleusynian mysteries, their disciples were instructed, that Jupiter, Vulcan, and the Hosts of Gods, were only deified mortals, raised by the love of a grateful posterity to a place in the skies; the veil of the Adyta was then removed, and the Priest disclosed the Great First Cause. But neither the Egyptian, nor the Eleusynian Illuminati, Intellect. Syst

had the magnanimity to impart these great truths to the deluded populace, fearful that it would shake the foundations of their power both in church and state.

The learned Brahmins have sheltered themselves under the same pretences. When accused of idolatry, they have defended it, by saying, that the images and deities in their Pagodas were only representations of the Eternal Majesty, and their adoration, ceremonies, and oblations, were only conducted with reference to the "Dieu "qui est le Maître absolu, et le seul Tout Puissant." They say, that "the truly Intelligent well knows, that the differences and va- "rieties of created things are a ray of his glorious essence, and that "the contrarieties of constitutions, are a type of his wonderful attri- "butes; that he appointed to each tribe its own faith, and to every "sect its own religion; and having introduced a numerous variety of "castes, and a multiplicity of different customs, he views, in each "particular place, the mode of worship respectively appointed to it; "sometimes he is employed with the attendants upon the Mosque, in "counting the sacred beads; sometimes he is in the Temple, at the "adoration of Idols; the Intimate of the Mussulman, and the "Friend of the Hindoo; the Companion of the Christian, and the "Confident of the Jew."

Bernier.

Prelim. Disc. of the Pundits, to Gent. Code, p. 4.

Such notions may breathe a benign and tolerant* spirit, but they operate powerfully against all religious improvement, and carry with them their own refutation, "elles ne sont bonnes, que pour jetter de "la poudre aux yeux d'un peuple ignorant." In vain do they urge in their behalf, that the unity and omnipotence of the Deity are every where inculcated in the Vedas, as fundamental articles of their faith; and that the long list of inferior deities there presented is

Bernier.

"* The Hindoos are, by their religion, a tolerant people, and the most contempt- "ible character upon earth, in their opinion, is the man who forsakes the religion of "his ancestors."

merely allegorical *; the lower Hindus adopt these subaltern deities, as really existing, and pay them divine honours. "The Brahmins," says *Abul Fazel*, (and he had examined their opinions with the greatest candour and attention) "all believe in the unity "of the Godhead, the Supreme Being, the Creator of all things, "and from whom all things proceed; and although they hold images "in high veneration, it is only because they represent celestial "beings, and prevent their thoughts from wandering." Such a system had the effect of rivetting the fetters of priestly power, upon the minds of the people, beyond the possibility of being broken. The empire of superstition flourished, whilst the Priests affected a purer worship; and the mystic adoration of the one class, and the bigotry of the other, became the fruitful source of that scepticism and materialism, which was not merely confined to the East, but found dangerous advocates in the more polished schools of the western world. The Ministero Akber.

It may, in general, be observed, that in India, as well as in many other countries, there are two religious sects; the one look up to the Deity, through the medium of reason and philosophy, while the others receive, as an article of their belief, every legend and allegory which have been transmitted from antiquity.

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* "It is a fundamental article of Hindoo faith, that God is the soul of the world, "and that consequently every great natural object contains a portion of God; nor is "the infinity of the Supreme easily comprehended by weak minds, without falling "into this error. This idea has, no doubt, given rise, among the Hindus, to the "opinion of subaltern intelligences; but the learned Brahmins, with one voice, deny "their existence, and their religious books of any antiquity confirm that assertion." Dow's Disert. H. Hindostan, p. 68.

Ils reconnoissent encore des Divinités subalternes à qui l'être Supreme a donné une partie de sa toute puissance, ministresde ses volontés, elles ont chacune leur district, & remplissent une fonction particuliere qu'il leur a confiée. Il veut que leur rende des hommages divins, mais differens de ceux qu'on rend à lui même. Sonnerat. Voyage aux Indes, Liv. III. c. i

A race of philosophers is said to be still existing in India, who not only spurn the fables of the Hindoo allegorists, and admit no incarnation of deities, but insist, that their countrymen pay worship and reverence to their ancient sages and sovereigns, deified for their virtues, wisdom, or valour. But whatever these sages may believe of a Supreme First Cause, however sublime their notions of an invisible, eternal, and self-existent God, whom all symbolical representations must degrade, these opinions have been chiefly professed in silence and retirement; a doctrine so pure has been kept a profound secret from the vulgar, whose sensual conceptions, they imagined, were only to be influenced, and whose stubborn minds were only to be kept in subjection, by the impression of external objects. It was by such methods, that the people were permitted to plunge into a gross and multifarious idolatry, until at length the priests themselves became as ignorant, as the people, whom they had corrupted.

Asiat. Research. Vol. III. p. 374.

Veias, or Vyásá, the great Poet* and PLATO of India, in writing the Bhagvat Gheeta†, seems to have designed to withdraw his countrymen from the gross worship into which they had fallen, and by inculcating a purer notion of theology, to have restored the primitive religion of Brahma; but, like Socrates, he dared not make an

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Lord Teignmouth's Life of Sir W. Jones, Vol. II. p. 285.

* "In the Vedanti philosophy, which is evidently Platonic, the Almighty is "known by the mystical and incommunicable appellation of O'M. He is said to "be the only Supreme Being; and all others, including Brahmá, Vishnu, Máhésa, "are only creatures of idea, or perception, which will perish in the general anni- "hilation, notwithstanding their exalted dignity, whilst O'M alone survives through "all eternity. There is a sect among the learned Mahomedans, called Sufis, who "are of the Indian Vedanti school, and who sometimes avow it without reserve. "Their fundamental tenet is, that nothing exists but God; that the human soul is an "emanation from his essence, and though divided for a time from its heavenly source, "will finally be reunited with it in the highest possible happiness."

Ibid. p. 321.

See Scott Waring's Sheerza.

† The Bhágvat Gheeta, is an Episode, in the Great Poem of the Mábábárat.

open attack against the prejudice and bigotry of the times; and thus, however sublime the philosophy he supported, its effect in altering or improving the superstition of his country, was altogether imperceptible; since, to the people, the regular compliance of his followers with the national ordinances, left them no room to doubt the sincerity of their belief. Socrates has generally been called a martyr to the only true God; but this is, perhaps, a vulgar error. Xenophon, in his memoirs, declares, that both in his words and practice, he approved of that doctrine of the Pythian Apollo—"That the rule "of piety and religion ought to be the law of every particular city "and country; and affirmed it to be a vanity in any man to be sin-"gular herein." Socrates defended himself from the accusation of his adversaries, by pleading his constant attendance and regular observance of the rites and religion of his fellow-citizens: thus his actions were, in some measure, a contradiction to the philosophy he taught; and the last desire he expressed, might be deemed a compliance with his country's idolatry *.

Cudworth, Intellect. Syst. B.I. c.iv. p.401.

Plato seems to have imbibed in this school, and in the colleges of Egypt, a still greater fear of religious innovation†; and upon this

De Legib. Dial. v.

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* Τω Ασχληπιω οφειλομεν αλεκτρυονα. Other interpretations have been given to this celebrated passage.

† Yet Plato often inveighed against the inventors of those fables in Heathen mythology (on which, however, all the economy of their religious practice, depended). Aristotle attributed the constitution of the Gentile religions to the subtlety of statesmen. Pliny directly and earnestly opposed Heathenism. There were few or none of the Philosophers who, when they could do it with impunity, did not signify their aversion to the national practices in religion. What Cicero says of one part, the wisest judged of all. "Tota res est inventa fallaciis, aut ad quæstum, aut ad superstitionem, aut ad errorem." Yet, with these sentiments, most, or all of them, complied with the customs of their countrymen.

Barrow's Works, Vol. II p. 182. Folio.

Cæsar made no scruple to disown his belief of any reward or punishment in another life, and ridiculed it in open senate.

principle, he asserts, in one of his Dialogues, that "all ceremonies "and sacrifices, whether adopted from the savages, or introduced by "those who consulted the oracles of Delphi, Dodona, or Ammon, "should be allowed to remain precisely as they are." Other learned men of antiquity followed the same opinion, nor is Cicero himself exempt from the imputation. Solon, who reformed the whole republic of Athens, and pointed out the most minute regulations for civil conduct and economy, left the religion of the Athenians in the same state that he found it. The proposition of a new law, or the abrogation of an old one, would have at any time occasioned a serious ferment in the State; but the addition of a new Deity, if his powers did not interfere with those already established, seemed to militate against no particular feeling, or national prejudice.

We find also, in the Bhâgvat Gheeta, many sublime sentiments on the unity of the Deity, which might do honour to any creed of natural religion; but whilst eternal happiness is offered to those who worship Brahma, the Almighty, it is declared, that those who follow other Gods, shall have a temporary reward, in an inferior heaven, proportioned to the extent of their virtues. Thus, however sublimely the ancient philosophers might think or reason upon these important subjects, they appear to have complied with the common practice of their countrymen, not so much, as it has been urged, fearing, that when once men began to doubt on religious subjects, they would believe no religion at all, but, out of a politic regard to their own safety; as Seneca said, they observed these things—"Tanquam "legibus jussa, non tanquam Diis grata."

The consequences of such sentiments are to be traced in the character of the age; men of enlightened minds could alone pierce that veil which concealed the folly of the vulgar superstitions; the people continued in their former ignorance.

Men accustomed to reason, of distant countries, by the same rules,

that they judge of their own, feel surprised, that the Gospel has not long since been more generally received throughout the world; judging, from its purity and excellence, they imagine its adoption would be the immediate effect of its being published; not reflecting, upon the difficulties which arise, from the prejudices of habit and education, and the abject state of the mind under despotic forms of Government.

The people of ancient Europe called not in question any article of the public faith, nor did any practice, which it enjoined, appear improper to them; on the other hand, every opinion that tended to diminish their reverence for the Gods of their country, or to alienate them from their worship, excited that indignant zeal, which is natural to every people, attached to their religion, by a firm persuasion of its truth. But in no country is this attachment stronger than in India. In Greece and Rome there was no distinct race of men devoted solely to religious duties, or privileged by hereditary right, to serve as interested guardians, of its tenets and institutions. In India, the Brahmins are by birth the ministers of religion*; in Thibet, the Lamas are the only national priesthood; they possess exclusive privileges, and the most favoured distinctions, and have alone the supposed power of averting the wrath, or propitiating the favour of Heaven. These distinctions, whilst they preserve their ascendant over the public mind, are an insuperable bar to all

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* In the Birmaun empire, whose inhabitants are principally of the sect of Gaudma, or Fo, the Hindoo Buddha, the Rhahaans, or Phongis, vulgarly called Talapoins, live in convents, and are solely devoted to religious pursuits. The people pay them the highest reverence, and the State consults them on all important occasions. The Birmauns are a more active and industrious race than the Hindoos; and though professing nearly the same tenets, are less reserved to strangers, and less bigoted to their sacred ordinances. Syme's Embassy, Ava.

innovation. To effect a change in the eastern creeds, ancient habits must be altered; antipathies must be reconciled; and the people must be roused to the exertion of their faculties by the prospect of some share in those advantages, which constitute the pride and glory of more civilized nations.

CHAP. VII.

THE DESPOTISM OF THE EASTERN GOVERNMENTS AN IMMEDIATE CAUSE OF THE DEGRADATION OF THE PEOPLE.

The subject may, however, be considered a little more in detail; examined only as a mere speculative question, it will be found to deserve the most serious attention; but as it involves the happiness of millions under the protection of the British Government, and concerns the means of promoting that happiness, it becomes an object of paramount importance.

It has been the fashion of the times to give a very summary system of the causes of the peculiar character of the Orientals, and several other nations.

Some statesmen have laid it down as a maxim, that as the government of a country, to be permanent and secure, must be adapted to the manners and customs of the people who live under it, that in some

" parts of the globe it would be impossible to preserve a due degree " of authority, or to maintain the public tranquillity, unless the " strong hand of power was perpetually held out and frequently ex- " ercised." This observation, they apply, in a certain degree, to the East, where a mode of government, resembling the feudal system of Europe, has immemorially prevailed among the native Princes, and more especially the Tartar tribes. The maxim, which, the destroying Tamerlane laid down in his laws, was, " that the power of the King* " is every thing, and the rights of the people nothing." The state of India at this period must have been peculiarly illustrative of this truth; for he speaks of the people of Hindoostan and Bengal as debilitated both in body and mind, as men regardless of honour, addicted to the most base and unworthy pursuits, faithless, improvident, and deceitful; as a people, labouring from their vices, under the peculiar displeasure of Heaven.

Debates on Hastings's trial.

The testimony, of both ancient and modern travellers, has been adduced in support of these opinions: it has been assumed that indolence is the characteristic feature of the inhabitants of the East; that it necessarily proceeds from the heat of the country, and that the same inertness of body incident to the climate, must, from analogy, produce inertness of mind and character. " Hence they make un- " limited monarchy as the most habitual state of government among " these nations; and, considering despotism as the effect of the " supineness of a people, they conclude, that despotism is the govern- " ment natural to the climate." This opinion has found, from the celebrity of its first author, Montesquieu†, a considerable number of

Volney's Syria, Vol. II. p. 462.

L'Esprit des Loix, B. XIV.

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* So the advocates for the divine right of kings, in the days of the Stuarts. " That " kings were independent of the people, and that the people were made for kings."

† The people of the North then are in a forced state, if they are not either free or barbarians: almost all the people of the South are, in some measure, in a state of violence, if they are not slaves. The inclinations are all passive, indolence consti-

Montesquieu, B. XXI. c. iii.

B. XIV. c. iii.

followers, and thus Nature herself is accused of having denied liberty to the East, whose inhabitants are said not to possess those energies, or that activity and vigour of mind, which, in a cooler "climate, "prompt mankind to investigate their natural rights, and to keep "alive the balance of freedom." Tranquillity is, therefore, represented as the chief object of desire; the evils of despotism appear less severe than the labour of being free; slavery, by the strength of custom, blends itself with human nature; the simplicity of despotism, its prompt justice and imposing appearances recommend themselves to an ignorant and indolent race; public virtue exists no more; the subject thinks "not of reformation: the Prince, who alone has it "in his power, will not innovate, since it would abridge his own "authority, and were even the despot, fired with the enthusiasm "of public spirit, the people would revolt against the introduction "of freedom, and revert to that form of government which takes "the trouble of regulation from their own hands." Such maxims may have been ingeniously designed, to favour a particular system, but they can never pass current with the world, since they are neither founded in just reason, nor on the real character of the people. To support a favourite hypothesis, men are seldom at a loss for sophisms, and even in England, the defence of a disgraceful traffic in human blood has been attempted, on the plea of its humanity.

Rennel, Mem. M. Hindostan.

It is not, however, to be disputed, that throughout the world despotism most prevails in warm climates; to their influence, and to the effect of local prejudices, a very considerable force may undoubtedly be ascribed; but to assert, that a despotic form of government is absolutely and essentially requisite to the happiness of the nations of

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tutes the utmost happiness, scarcely any punishment is so severe as the action of the soul, and slavery is more supportable than the force and vigour of mind necessary for human actions.

the East, seems a paradox, beyond the power of solution, by any effort of human ingenuity.

The fallacy of such opinions may be easily proved by the history of many nations, of both the eastern and western world, who, in defiance of these fancied obstacles, have fought and bled for liberty, and maintained their independence, against all the efforts of arbitrary power. The natives of Phœnicia and Palmyra rendered themselves conspicuous by their commerce, and attention to the liberal arts. The Greeks, the Arabians, shone equally in arts and in arms; nor is modern history without proofs of the falsity of any inference to be drawn from climate alone. Where are now the heroes of Sparta and Athens—of the fields of Marathon and Platæa? "If the "men of these nations were inert, what is activity? Why, in the "same countries, where so much energy was displayed in former "times, do we at present find such profound indolence?" Why have the Persians degenerated from the wise institutions of Cyrus? Why does Rome produce no longer her Scipios, Catos, and Cæsars? or why is Portugal without her Henrys, her Gamas, and Albuquerques? *Spain has lost the fire, the spirit, and the patriotism, which animated the souls of her Castilian warriors, in their contests with the Moors, and, under the conduct of Cortez and Pizarro. Yet Spain is now richer and more populous than she was in the days of Ferdinand, and of Charles! The Lazzaroni of Naples, the fanatics of Rome and Sicily, are descended either from the Roman, the Goth, the Lombard, or the Norman. Will it be alleged that the climate is changed, and, therefore, more favourable to despotism? If so, where are the proofs? The spirit of liberty flourished under the warm skies of Italy and Greece, when it was scarcely known in colder latitudes; and examples of the most en-

Volney's Syria.

* But since this was written, Spain seems to have awakened from her lethargy, and to be eager for the recovery of her ancient character.

lightened patriotism, and the most exalted virtue, may be now witnessed in the bleak, and anciently barbarous regions of the North and West; whilst Southern Europe is sunk under the weight of the most ignominious servitude. "If the same effects are ob- "servable under directly contrary circumstances, and different "effects under the same circumstances, what becomes of these "pretended principles? What then is the influence of climate, or "what is to be understood by activity? Must the quantity of "energy in a nation be estimated by its temperature, and its apti- "tude to slavery or freedom be fixed by the varying scale of the "thermometer?" Under the despotism of the Mogul Government, the native troops of India have fled before the Tartar, the Persian, and the Afghan arms; but under the conduct of British officers, they have been seen emulous to rival the conduct of European soldiers, steady in the field, under the severest privations, and oftentimes contesting the victory with the hardiest troops of France.

Volney's Syria.

If climate be not then allowed to have such an effect upon these political changes, it must be looked for in other causes. The nature of the soil has indeed a real influence upon activity; as men are either rich or poor, as their wants are few or many, the active energies of the mind are called forth, and the improvement of the natural faculties promoted. "But the true sources and regulations of the "activity or indolence of individuals and nations, are the social "institutions of government and religion." These are the efficient causes, which extend or limit the activity of all men. As a proof that their influence operates, in spite of the difference of climate and soil, compare the Romans under Scipio, and Tiberius; the Poles under Sobieski, and Stanislaus; the modern Gaul, with the free and independent Frank; compare the Greeks under Aristides and the Porte, the Osmanlis under Mahomed and Solyman, with their fallen countrymen under Mustapha and Selim!

The same causes which have degraded Europe, and western Asia, have had an equally powerful effect on the nations of the East. The people of Hindoostan are not to be judged by the measure of their present degradation, but by that of their past prosperity; what is now to be seen, is the wreck of a great nation, struggling as it were for existence, and hardly emerging from the ruins that have buried it for centuries in misery and disgrace. Looking back to the history of its arts and refinement in remote ages, India was flourishing at home, and honoured and respected abroad, whilst the nations who now hold so distinguished a rank in Europe, were dispersed in the woods of Germany, or ignorant of the rudest arts of civilized life.

Accumulated oppression has bowed down the Hindoo, but it has not quenched his spirit; even in the most flourishing period of the Mogul empire, the Rajpoot still bravely asserted his independence, and exacted the fear or the respect of his enemies.

It is probable that the state of society and manners, among the Hindus, in remote ages, was equal or superior to that of the Chaldeans and Egyptians, in their most polished era; besides that, the isolated and remote situation of India, and the particular customs of the Hindus, would have longer enabled them to preserve their systems and usages from alteration. Their earliest records describe their government as monarchical, though they do not give their Prince an uncontrouled power; it was limited by the peculiar division of the classes, and by fixed and unalterable customs: they speak of the people as industrious, frugal, rich, and happy, and possessing laws and religious ordinances connected by the same sanctions, but tempered with a mildness, equity, and policy, unknown in the most moderate governments of Europe. Whilst the Indian enjoyed the benefit of this government, and felt the force and influence of good laws, the public happiness was undisturbed, and domestic tranquillity, was securely maintained.

Robertson's India. Append. 4to. p. 274. 298. 352.

If the degree of perfection which manufactures have attained in a nation that professes to adopt no foreign improvement, be a criterion of a people's antiquity, Hindoostan may claim the palm of precedence. With the ornamental arts the Hindus were certainly acquainted, long before the period of European civilization. Mr. Forster says, that in some ruins near Kurrah Mannickpour, and in the neighbourhood of Benares, there are some mutilated fragments of sculpture, which, for the simple elegancy of the design and taste, as "well as the exact nicety of the execution, may, in his opinion, "vie with the works of European masters. The Hindus of this "day have, however, only a slender knowledge of the rules of pro-"portion, and none of perspective*. They are just imitators, and "correct workmen, but they possess merely the glimmerings of "genius."

Forster's Travels, Vol. I. p. 80.

"It may safely be pronounced," says Colonel Call, "that no part "of the world has more marks of antiquity for arts, sciences, and "civilization, than the peninsula of India, from the Ganges to Cape "Comorin: I think the carving on some of the Choultries and "Pagodas, as well as the grandeur of the work, exceeds any thing "of modern execution, not only for the delicacy of the chisel, but "the expense of construction; considering, in many instances, to "what distances the component parts were carried, and to what "heights raised."

Philos. Trans. Robertson's India, p. 352. 4to.

In the Observatory at Benares, astronomical instruments are to be

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* Mr. Scott Waring makes the same remark upon the modern Persians. They have some little knowledge of light and shade, but know nothing of perspective. The artificer in Persia is in the same situation with his brother in India. "To be ingeni-"ous and able, are actual misfortunes, as the artizans are compelled to work for the "principal people of the city without the smallest hope of being recompensed for "their labours, or being repaid for the expenses they have incurred."

Tour to Shiraz, p. 32. 48.

seen, whose use is not known to the Brahmins of the present age; but they afford ample presumption that the Hindus possessed the knowledge of ascertaining the motion of the heavenly bodies in the most remote antiquity; nor were many of their improvements in this sublime science, in ethics, logic, and metaphysics, inferior to the boasted labours of Greece and Rome.

In fact, every testimony, both ancient and modern, concur in declaring, that the Hindus were once a powerful and enlightened nation; that their country abounded in opulent cities, was decorated with temples, fountains, and the most costly works of art, erected both for use and pleasure; that their artizans were expert in the curious workmanship of gold and other metals, and that the public ordinances were prescribed by wisdom, and executed with a liberal and impartial justice.

Thus a retrospect of the progress made in the arts and sciences by the Hindus, may serve to check European vanity, and excite in the mind a feeling of wonder and regret at the revolutions of a great empire, which probably has contributed, in no small degree, to polish and exalt the nations that now hold it in subjection.

To awaken activity, there must be objects of desire, and to maintain it, the hope of arriving "at enjoyment. If these two essen- Volney's Syria, Vol. II. p. 473.
"tials are wanting, there is an end to individual and national acti-
"vity; and such is generally the condition of the Orientals. What
"should induce them to move, if no motion procures them the hope
"of enjoyment, equivalent to the trouble they must take? How
"can they be otherwise than indolent, in their most simple habits,
"if their social institutions render it a sort of necessity?" The moral character of nations depends on the social state, in which they live; since it is true that our actions are governed by our civil and religious laws, and since our habits are no more than a repeti- Ibid. p. 476.
tion of those actions, and our character only the disposition to act in

such a manner; under such circumstances, it evidently follows, that every thing must depend on government and religion.

Sir William Jones, the meridian of whose life was passed in the cause of letters, and whose illustrious career was terminated in endeavouring to secure the rights and property of the natives of India, seems to have adopted the most liberal notions upon this subject. He knew, from a full consideration of the religion, manners, and laws of the natives, that it was absurd and impracticable, to attempt to introduce amongst them, that political freedom, in its full extent, which is the birthright of Britons, but the growth of ages. The reflections of his own enlightened mind must have assured him that the "sudden transition from slavery to freedom, from dependence to authority, could seldom be borne by any people, with moderation or discretion; that every change in the state of man ought to be gentle and gradual; otherwise it is extremely dangerous to himself, and intolerable to others; that a due preparation is necessary for the enjoyment of liberty, that nations long enslaved, can only be emancipated by degrees, or urged by a burst of enthusiasm, they would probably fall into the same excess of folly, suffer all the paroxysms of madness, and be found as unfit for the enjoyment of rational freedom as the French, or the negroes." But though, from the relative situation of the British Indian possessions, he saw the danger of an immediate emancipation of 30 millions of Indians, the cause of freedom was still dear to his heart, and he felt the necessity, and laid the groundwork, of a radical change of government. It was impossible not to remark the constant effect of despotism, in benumbing and debasing all the faculties "of the human mind; and to that cause only he imputed "the decided inferiority of most Asiatic nations, ancient and modern, to those in Europe, who are blest with happier governments: he could see the Arabs rising to glory, while they

X. Dis. As. Soc.

Barrow's China p. 417; quoted from Lord Macartney.

Dis. Asiat. Soc.

" adhered to the free maxims of their ancestors, and sinking " to misery, from the moment when those maxims were aban- " doned."

If in Asia, the principles of justice, honour, or patriotism, are disregarded, it is, because they confer no substantial benefit, nor tend to elevate the character; they are, therefore, seldom seen to animate the mind of the subject, who is, as it were, constitutionally led to fix the tenure of life, and property, and fame, on the will of the Prince.

Every Government, whose power is upheld by force alone, and whose main spring of action is to exact a passive submission to its will, has a natural tendency to degrade the mental energies of the people, and to deteriorate and alter the very face and physical resources of the country, over which its influence extends. The great kingdoms of Asia, subject to the Mahomedan and Pagan yoke, feel the full effects of this principle, and by the force of its operation, sink daily into deeper misery and degradation. The beauty of Cashmire was proverbial; the happiness of its people, the admiration of surrounding nations. The mountains which girt their vallies secluded the inhabitants from injury and insult, and, protected by the fostering care of their native Princes, or the lenient Government of the first Mogul Emperors, they enjoyed all the blessings of a terrestrial paradise; but the subsequent confusions of the Empire, and the ravages of the Afghans, have not only desolated the country, but given a ruder aspect to the people, and a baser character to their minds and bodies. In Cashmire, vice and licentiousness have now become so familiar, as to excite neither shame nor abhorrence; awed by no principle of honour, invited by no example of virtue, the Cashmirian gives the widest range to his passions, and seeks not to conceal the baseness of his nature. The ancient Spartan was celebrated for his probity, his valour, and contempt of wealth; but

Lacedæmon was virtuous and free, when her sons attracted the love and veneration of the Peloponnesians. The Maniot, her fallen descendant, is described as having no other quality but courage; and that is rather brutal violence, than patient fortitude: his vices are those of the half-civilized savage, assassination, cruelty, perfidy, and rapine.

If the nations of India are not much addicted to curious investigation, and are generally inattentive to the history of their own country; if their pleasures are often indolent and languid, and their chief happiness seem centered in the enjoyment of the present hour, which absorbs every retrospect of the past and every care for the future; we may allow much to the mild influence of *their* climate, and the easy produce of a fertile soil; but the root of this indifference and lassitude is fixed in the miseries, which, for ages past, have overwhelmed their country, and robbed them of the securities of social life; whilst the force of superstition has in a great measure destroyed their moral principle, and given to this constitutional languor and inactivity of the mind, an increased predominance. Personal exertion is, besides, discouraged by the notions of predestination and the dreams of astrology. A trifling attention is shewn both by the Hindoo and the Mahomedan, to lucky days, and hours, and minutes; and on all occasions, and even in the discharge of the most common duties of life, delay is allowed*, and an enterprise may be

Appendix.

Herodotus, Lib. II. c. lxxxii. Hyde, Rel. V. P. cap. xviii. & xx. Sonnerat, Vol. II. c. xiii. p. 304.

* The ancient Persians were no less scrupulous in their regard to particular days, on which, no other act could be done, but what was peculiarly assigned for it.

In the Indian calendar the days are consecrated by particular signs, animals, and even letters; to each of which, is affixed a correspondent good or bad omen, in order to regulate the course of human actions.

The Egyptians paid equal attention to divination, and thence it passed into Greece.

defeated, by a clap of thunder, the calculation of chances, or the unfortunate ascendant of an unlucky sign.

But the baneful effects of despotism and superstition do not operate solely on the mind, but on the arts, to which freedom alone can give any decisive tone, or character. In these, luxury increases in proportion as slavery augments, until arrived at a certain pitch, when it becomes ostentation. Though Rome discovered some fondness for the elegant arts, by "the study of the spoils of Syracuse and Co- De Pauw.
"rinth, yet it shewed no great luxury until the conquest of Egypt; "it continued to augment until the reign of Commodus, when it "became pomp, and finally, under Constantine, sunk into a bar- "barous and Asiatic ostentation. Thus the arts diminished as liberty "decayed."

The arts were stationary in India, and works of genius were unknown, because the artizans were ill treated and badly paid, and could find little encouragement for their industry. Under the Mogul Government, an Omrah could send for an artizan, and compel him to the performance of any particular work, which, for the sake of bread, he would complete as fast as possible. "Il ne songe Bernier.
"qu'à depescher sa besogne, et en tirer ce qu'il pourra pour attraper "un morceau du pain." The best workmen in the East* were retained in the Courts of the Princes and great Lords; but even here Volney's Syria, Vol. II. p. 435.
genius pined, and was checked in the bud by the terrors of despotic power; and what should have been the property of all, was unjustly restrained, to favour the selfish interests of an individual. If Jackson's Journey from India.
an Asiatic should be asked, why he has not adopted the improvements

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* Comment voulez vous, me disoit un Philosophe Indien, qu'il y ait parmi nous des hommes instruits? Les arts et les sciences ont toujours été opprimés par des Princes ignorans, avides d'entasser trésors aux trésors, & corrompus par la molesse d'un Serrail. Sonnerat, Voy. aux Indes, Vol. II. p. 99.

of the moderns, either in the mechanical arts or higher sciences, his answer would be, that the children invariably followed the trade and maxims of their fathers; to deviate from which, would be profane. This custom was noticed both by Chardin and Bernier, and is religiously observed at present both by Hindus and Mussulmen. "Le Brodeur fait son fils Brodeur; l'Orfevre le fait Orfevre; comme "le Medecin en ville le fait Medecin, et personne ne s'allie qu'avec "les gens de son métier."

Bernier, des Gentils.

Europeans are accustomed to speak of the wealth of India in the most extravagant terms, but the opinion is highly delusive. The poverty of the Indian is so great, that he has scarcely any tools, or those only of the simplest nature, for the performance of his work*; even the most common instruments of agriculture are ill made, and still worse adapted to the uses for which they are designed. These defects, in a people so long civilized, were, previous to the British conquests, chiefly occasioned by the state of descendible property, which rested on so precarious a tenure, that all improvement was necessarily checked, and obscurity and poverty were the only methods of saving private possessions from the grasp of arbitrary power. Thus every institution, both civil and religious, unless occasionally counterbalanced by the justice or policy of the Prince, had the same tendency to curb the growth of genius, and to rivet the fetters of despotism and superstition.

Yet, in defiance of these causes, which, during their operation, seem effectually to check the progress of improvement, there are

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* The division of the people into classes, has been a principal check to all emulation; and as the Hindoo knows that he cannot rise, by any exertions, to a higher caste, or tribe, he rests satisfied with his own scanty information. The Egyptians appear to have been divided into similar classes, and their progress in the fine arts, was not greater than that of the Hindus.

others, which, by insensibly working upon the human mind, give it a different bias; and if it is only by starts and sallies, excite it to an examination of its powers and capacities.

The desire of happiness is the chief object of every rational being; and though the fineness of the climate and the fertility of the soil, may contribute highly to the Indian's enjoyment, and serve to lessen the number of his physical wants, it would be absurd to suppose that he is altogether so absorbed in indolence, as to be incapable of any sources of enjoyment, but what immediately spring from the present; or that he has no regard to futurity, no sense or perception of those more exalted pleasures, which minister to the refinement and exaltation of the soul!

If, for ages past, the Indian has appeared torpid and inactive, under the lash of his oppressors, it must be attributed to the gradual progress of corruption, brought on by a debasing superstition, and the vices of an impotent government. That, upon some occasions, the Hindoo is not deficient in any of those qualities, which distinguish the natives of the West, when protected by the influence of a mild government, has been proved in the armies raised by Europeans, even when conquest alone has been the avowed object. Was the state of science and civility in a more improved condition in Europe, during the barbarism of the middle ages? Europe is now the boasted seat of learning, and the temple of the arts. But was civil liberty then better understood, when science, confined to the legends of a monastery, scarcely cheered with a ray of light the surrounding darkness, and the achievements of chivalry gave the only transient relief to the dull annals of an ignorant age?

If the Indians are now degraded, they only occupy the place held by their conquerors a few centuries ago. It is the injustice and impolicy of institutions hostile to the freedom of man, the prosperity of the arts, and all notions of good government, which have brought

them to their present condition. If the evils are great, and have gained some degree of sanction from time, both justice and policy require us to adopt such remedies as may counteract their influence, "for the more that physical causes incline mankind to "inaction, the more should moral causes estrange them from it." Is it wished to reconcile the people to their change of masters, they must be attached to their government, by a policy at once wise and liberal? The effects of climate must be counteracted by a system of jurisprudence, founded on such institutions, religious and moral, as will conciliate the love of virtue, give to depressed genius the fullest scope, and the most ample rewards; and impress upon the pliant mind of youth, the sentiments of justice and humanity.

So long as the mind is deadened by the benumbing touch of superstition and despotism, it will be difficult to render it sensible of the nobler motives of human conduct. In their present state, it is not reasonably to be expected that the principles of justice and of honour, can be inculcated either by the moral, or religious tenets of the Mahomedans, who look with abhorrence upon those who are not enclosed in the fold of their Prophet, and whom they are therefore inclined and allowed to injure and to persecute; or what better result can be expected from the superstitious tenets of the Hindoo?

Of the power possessed by the British Government of contributing effectually to the happiness of the natives of Hindoostan, whom, a concurrence of fortunate circumstances, has placed under its protection, all parties seem to be fully sensible; but the difference of opinion lies, in the proper employment of the means.

Towards restoring and strengthening the civil rights of both Hindus and Mahomedans, by the clear interpretation of their law and the regular distribution of justice, much has been already done by the regulations of Parliament, the attention of the Government,

and the labours of Sir W. Jones, and other learned men; but the work is yet unfinished.

Among all the schemes offered to the nation, in this projecting age, for the support of its Indian power, perhaps the best natural means for advancing the felicity of the State, as well as the present happiness of the subject, but more particularly the Hindoo, would be, to give him a higher opinion of his own rank in the order of creation; for the effects of such a system, aided also by education, lenient treatment, and protection, would afford his mind a fuller scope for its operations; and, by awakening him from sloth and ignorance, without materially exciting the jealousy of the Brahmins, might direct his best energies to the improvement of his nature.

The resolutions so frequently entered into by the British Parliament, for preventing unnecessary wars in India, and for limiting the interference of the servants, both of the Company and the Crown, in the interior arrangements of the native powers, had also in view the beneficial effects of this system. As the matured result of the national Councils, these objects still stand on record, though they have in many instances been greatly neglected. If the Parliament and the nation foresaw, at an early period, this evil, little, it may be justly feared, has since occurred to give a different turn to their opinions. For on all sides it is now agreed that the "disease is manifest, as well Swift. "as dangerous; that some remedy is necessary, and that none yet "applied has been effectual; which is a sufficient excuse for any "man who wishes well to his country, to offer his thoughts, when "he can have no other end in view but the public good." The difficulty, indeed, of retaining in obedience, either mediately or immediately, fifty millions of subjects, at a distance of above 10,000 miles from the ruling State, when the comparative inferiority of its force, and the fickleness of popular opinion, on which alone, its stability depends, are remembered, must strike the apprehension of the

most common observer. It had been idle to have proposed remedies before the disease was ascertained, or to excite fears before there was a probability of danger. The Legislature saw that danger at a distance, and both the danger and the fear are now too imminent, to allow of a moment's delay in adopting such measures, as may either remove or allay them. Let those who are at the helm pursue the counsels of wisdom and justice, and it is yet possible to divert the storm which seems ready to burst upon our Indian possessions, and to confirm the love of a people, whom, the ignorant efforts of zeal and folly, either religious or political, may alienate for ever.

The ruin of a state is generally preceded by an universal degeneracy of manners and contempt of religion; but the same effect may be produced by very opposite causes; for zeal ill applied, is as dangerous an instrument of social destruction, as laxity of morals and decay of piety. Lord Bacon charges it for a fault in princes, that they are impatient to compass ends, without giving themselves the trouble of consulting or executing the means. The present age is justly accused of the same fault, and perhaps the public mind has been more agitated, about extending the light of the Gospel abroad, than in propagating or maintaining it at home. The wish of enlightening ignorant nations with the truths of the Gospel, is every way worthy of those who live under a purer faith; but it is at the same time their duty to consider, how far the object is practicable, to the extent they would wish to have it carried; and they should reflect, that in every state there is nothing dearer than their religion, nothing more revered than their gods, for whom they are bound to stake their very existence. What people in modern times have been known to forsake their religion, the local customs and manners, in which they have been born and educated, without a struggle—almost amounting to extirpation. The example of the Moors might have proved, that power could not effect a revolution on the minds of

men, even when death and banishment were the alternatives. If the Peruvians and Mexicans yielded to the terrors of the Inquisition, it was only after millions had perished in defence of their Dii Penates. Nor, if the testimony of the best historians is to be credited, is their present profession of Christianity freed from the admixture of their ancient idolatries. The rude African, who is altogether involved in the grossest ignorance, and has neither national temples, nor a regular order of priests, to remind him of his own, and of the religion of his fathers, feels not the same reluctance to renounce his national faith, as the Hindu or the Mahomedan, who are attached to it by the continual recurrence of stated rites, in temples sanctified by the respect of ages.

From the opinion of the wisest men on this subject, the means adopted for the conversion of the Hindus, have not only been ill-digested, but altogether calculated to produce effects diametrically opposite, to the designs of the projectors. The late mutiny at Vellore, and the concurrent movements observable among the troops on the Madras Establishment, serve to strengthen this suspicion, and ought to make every reflecting man pause, before the evil is pressed beyond the power of remedy.

It has been urged, that the Hindus were formerly a civilised people, and that it is our duty, therefore, to make them a civilised people again; that India formerly received the light of the gospel, if not generally, at least from the present remains of Christian churches, in a partial manner; and it is therefore incumbent upon those who profess that faith, to attempt to restore it upon the ruins of paganism. As a general truth, no one will perhaps deny the advantage which such a revolution might have upon the minds of the natives; but in a political point of view, it is only just to consider, the extreme danger of venturing upon it, without a well-grounded probability of success. The question of such an attempt, in defiance of what its zealous advocates would urge, of attempting it with means

so totally inadequate to its accomplishment as are at present possessed, as it involves a subject of no less importance, than the safety of British India, may be fairly canvassed by individuals, but must be ultimately decided by the legislature, which, it is hoped, will neither be blinded by interest, nor inclined to hazard a present evil for a speculative future good; but ere any judgment be pronounced, let us consider the progress of the gospel in the East from the birth of Christ to the present time, and we shall thence be better enabled to form our conclusions, as to the probability of its future advancement.

CHAP. VIII.

ON THE INTRODUCTION, RISE, AND PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE EAST, DURING THE FIRST CENTURY.

The various creeds which preceded Christianity, had their origin in natural religion; and, though imperfectly handed down by tradition, contain sparks of the light of truth intermingled with the darkness of error. The idolatries of the heathens were introduced into the world by insensible degrees, and being adapted to the vicious temper of mankind, easily gained upon their ignorance by custom and example.

The only people who preserved any records of the creation, were separated by divine ordinances from the idolatry of surrounding nations. But neither the memory of the divine favour, nor the temporal penalties annexed to the breach of his laws, could preserve their faith from violation. The punishment, however, of their rebellions, diffused the knowledge of their Scriptures throughout the

East. The Jews returned, during their captivity, to the purity of their faith, and preserved, with religious veneration, their ancient customs and sacred records; and from these, the Philosophers, who visited the East*, had an opportunity of acquiring the most important information. History even assures us, that Pythagoras conversed with Ezekiel at Babylon, and obtained from him a knowledge of the Mosaic Writings. B. C. 585.

Previous to the Babylonish Captivity, Tiglath-Pileser, King of Assyria, had carried away part of the Ten Tribes to the cities of Media†. Shalmaneser, twenty years afterwards, completed the overthrow of the kingdom of Israel, took Samaria the capital, and transplanted the remainder of the tribes into the same cities. But nothing is certainly known of the great mass of these tribes: they never returned to their native country, and were probably dispersed over Upper Asia. After the restoration of the kingdom of Judea by Cyrus, the Jews were again dispersed, by the Macedonian kings, into Egypt and Syria. In the time of the Maccabees, many of them Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. III. c. i.

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* Thales travelled into Egypt, B. C. 600; Plato, B. C. 430; and he there learned his doctrine of the soul's immortality, &c. The Colleges of Thebes and Heliopolis were the seats of early science, and had long been the resort of the learned Greeks. Zoroaster and Pythagoras were both remembered in India as travellers in search of wisdom. The latter is said to have been carried from Egypt by Cambyses to Babylon. He had resided in Egypt twelve years, and, tempted from their wonted reserve, had been initiated by the priests in all the arcana of their science and theology.

Pythagoras went from Babylon to India, where, from the Brachmans, he learned the Metempsychosis. It is also asserted that he conversed with Zeratusht, and was instructed in the mysteries of Mithra and the Chaldæan astronomy; but it is barely possible that he should have known Zeratusht in the capital of Irak, as the Grecian sage must have been then far advanced in years, and we have no further evidence of the intercourse between the two philosophers.

Porphyry says, that Pythagoras learned from the Magians, "Deorum sacra et cultum, cæteraque vitæ Instituta." Hyde, Relig. Vet. Pers. cap. xxxi.

† The foundation of Erivan, the capital of Armenia, is ascribed to these Jews.

voluntarily removed into Ægypt*. On their submission to Pompey, and after the destruction of their city by Titus, they finally ceased to be a nation, and as slaves or as criminals were distributed through the Roman Empire. But amidst the calamities which befel their nation, their attachment to their sacred rites remained inviolate, and the persecution of their enemies, could neither obliterate the memory of their country, nor induce them to abandon the religion of their fathers.

Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. III. c. i. n.

The Jews, who were dispersed in Europe, held their chief assembly at Alexandria, and used the Septuagint Version of the Bible; they were called διασπορα Ελληνων, and were connected with many at Jerusalem, who used the same translation. Those of their countrymen who did not live in Greece, were called Ελληνισται, Hellenists †, either as speaking the Greek language, or being heathen converts; whereas, the others were called Εβραιοι, Hebrews, adopting the Jerusalem paraphrase. The Asian dispersion is mentioned, (1 Peter i. 1.) They had Babylon for their metropolis, and read in their synagogues the Targum, or Chaldee Paraphrase of Onkelos ‡.

John vii. 35.

Acts i. 6.

Mosheim. Eccl. Hist. c. iii. Pt. i. n. 2.

The progress which the Jews had made, may be traced into the most distant regions, and early settlements of them have been discovered both in India and China.

Joseph. Antiq. B. C. 56.

* Hyrcanus, appointed High-Priest by Pompey, was carried away prisoner in the irruption of the Parthians. He was delivered from imprisonment by Phraates, the Parthian king, and suffered to reside in Babylon or Seleucia, where there was a great number of Jews, by whom he was considered as their High-Priest.

Fabric. Lux. Evan. c. iv.

† Some writers have called the Hellenistæ only the Proselytes from the Heathens. Others call the Ελληνες, Ethnicos, generally. The Dict. Acad. Francoise gives this term four senses. 1. Alexandrian Jews. 2. The Jews who spoke the language of the LXX. 3. The Jews who accommodated themselves to Grecian manners. 4. The Greeks who embraced Judaism.

Fabric. Lux. Evan. c. v. Josephus de Bell. Jud. B. II. c. xvi.

‡ Towards the propagation of the gospel, two things greatly contributed, Deo ita moderante, Amplitudo Romani imperii magnam orbis terrarum partem occupantis, et dispersio mirifica populi Judaici facta per omnes vasti illius imperii provincias.

The Patans or modern Afghans*, whose victories and incursions have made their name terrible in the annals of Hindoostan, and whose princes long sat upon the throne of Delhi, claim their descent from a Jewish stock. A Jewish colony has long been settled near Surat, and another at Cochin, on the coast of Malabar; both of which observe, in essential points, the laws and customs of their fathers, and still date their settlement in India, from the Babylonish captivity. There are also traces of them in the more eastern parts of Asia; and the Kin Kiao are Chinese Jews, who are supposed to have entered that kingdom long before the Christian æra: they persevere to this day in many of the ceremonies of their nation, in circumcision, the celebration of the Passover, and abstinence from the flesh of swine.

According to their own accounts, they first settled there soon after the expedition of Alexander had opened a communication with India, and were probably followers of his army. They could not, therefore, have been any part of the ten tribes† that were carried

See the Dissertation on this subject in the History and Antiquities of Asia.

Buchanan, p. 117, Exp. Eccl. Est. De Pauw. Egypt & Chin. Vol. I. p. 167.

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* The Afghans afterwards seized upon the mountains of Solomon near Candahar, and built forts in the adjacent country. They still shew in Cashmire an ancient temple called Tact-Solomon, or the Throne of Solomon, because they say it was built by that prince, when he visited the country. Mr. Forster was so much struck with the general appearance, garb, and manners of the Cashmirians, as to be inclined to think he had suddenly been transported among a nation of Jews. The same idea was impressed upon the mind of M. Bernier, who canvasses the question of their origin from the Jewish tribes led into captivity by Salmaneser. Both he and Tavernier speak of the Jews as abounding in Lar, Ispahan, and the southern shore of the peninsula of Hindoostan.

Bernier. Vol. II. p. 21. Bernier's Voyage to Cashemire. Tavernier, Persian Travels.

† Esdras says, the Ten Tribes came to a country called *Arsareth*, where it is supposed they settled. The best Persian historians affirm, that the Afghans are descended from the Jews, and that they have traditions among themselves to this effect; but since their conversion to Islâm, they studiously conceal them. Their language has a manifest resemblance to the Chaldaic. The Jews are described by all travellers, ancient and modern, as being settled in Khorasan, Mawer-ul-nere, and in the provinces bordering upon the Chinese Empire, as well as in all parts of Persia, in the Indies, and

Hazâreh or Hazâret. Sir W. Jones's Works, Vol. I. p. 331. Renaudot, p. 196. A. R. Inquiry concerning Jews in China.

into captivity. The records of this emigration are preserved by their descendants, and the dates are corroborated by the Chinese history. They are settled in great numbers near Hang-tchoo-foo, and like their kindred of Lar, are chiefly employed in the manufacture of silk. "Few of them, except the Rabbis, have any knowledge of "the Hebrew language; and they have been so long intermixed "with the Chinese, that the priests at the present day are said "to find some difficulty in keeping up their congregation." Mr. Barrow observes, that these Jews are ignorant of any other Jesus having appeared in the world, except the son of Sirach. The same account is attested by Bernier, who mentions, on the report of a German missionary, that there were some Jews in China, who preserved all the customs of their fathers, possessing the books of the Old Testament, but ignorant of Christianity.

Tavernier, Persian Travels.

Barrow's Chin. p. 438.

Voy. de Kachmire, Tom. II. p. 316.

Renaudot, Inquiry concerning Jews in China.

But from whatever stock these branches of the Jewish nation may have derived their origin, it is most probable that the idea of a Star, which should at that time appear in the East, was drawn from their writings; and thus Balaam's prophecies, and the predictions of Isaiah, of the coming of a Messiah, may have guided the sages towards the birth-place at Bethlehem. An event of such moment

Origines Sacræ, Lib. III. Vol. I. p. 1.

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with the Cingalays. Before the introduction of Mahomedanism, there were whole nations of Jews in Arabia. The king of the Homerites was a Jew. Under the Emperor Heraclius, many of them were driven from the Roman dominions into Persia, where some of their countrymen had remained ever since the first captivity; and history informs us, that they often excited the Heathen Princes against the Christians. Seventy years after the death of Mahomed, the Æthiopians sent over an army to assist the Christians of Yemen against Dhu Nôwas their king, and a bigoted Jew. Many of the Arabian tribes had been converted by the Jews who fled from the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. Chaibar was their principal city in Arabia: it was taken by Mahomed A. D. 623-7. Chaibar was in the neighbourhood of Medina; they were removed into Syria by Omar.—Hira was also the residence of a Christian Prince, who had reigned there 600 years before he was conquered by the Moslems.

Sale's Koran, Vol. I. p. 13. not. 46.

Gibbon's R. Empire.

alarmed the guilty mind of Herod, and he had therefore recourse to the most dreadful cruelties, to prevent its completion *. This prophecy was, however, variously applied. By the policy of Vespasian, it was rendered subservient to his designs on the empire: to the obstinate Jews it was a source of frequent and fatal rebellion, and more especially when, in the reign of Hadrian, the impostor Barchocebas, or the son of the Star, led a great army into the field, and was only defeated by Julius Severus, who had been recalled from Britain as the ablest of the Roman officers, to oppose his progress.

We may, perhaps, refer to the same origin the report of Abul-Pharagius †, who informs us, that Zoroaster absolutely predicted to his disciples, that at no very distant period "a sacred personage "should issue from the womb of an immaculate virgin, and that his "coming would be preceded by a brilliant star, whose light would "guide them to the place of his nativity."

Maurice, A. H. H. Vol. II. p. 281.

But almost all the nations of the earth appear to have lived in the expectation of a Deity, who, at some future time, would convey a more particular revelation of the divine will. The Romans expected a Being predicted by the Sybils. The Oracle of Delphi was the depositary of an ancient and secret prophecy of the birth of a son of Apollo, who was to restore the reign of Justice and Virtue on the earth. The Persians expect Ali at the end of time; the Chinese

Plato in Apolog. Socr. et de Repub. Lib. VI. à Clarke's Evidences, Prop. vii. 1. 2.

Sonnerat. Voy. aux Indes, Vol. I. Liv. II.

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* Percrebuerat orienti toto, vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judæi profecti rerum potirentur—"εκσυ εξελευσεται οἰγγυμενος."—Quæ ambages Vespasianum ac Titum prædixerant "ut valesceret oriens." Josephus says, that the Jews were encouraged to revolt against the Romans by a famous prophecy, "That about that "time a great Prince should be born among them that should rule the world." In the 6th chapter of Zechariah, v. 12. branch is used, which may as well be translated Oriens. The Star, the Branch, Oriens—all allude to the Messiah.

Sueton. in Vesp. Sect. iv. Micah. c. v. v. 2. Tacit. Hist. Lib. V. xiii.

Tillotson's Works.

† Abul Pharagius, though an Arabian writer, was a Christian by religion; and Prideaux, though he recounts the story with even further testimonies, is inclined to imagine, it may have arisen, from the legendary tales of the Eastern Christians.

Connect. Vol. I. B. IV. p. 330.

Of the country, whence the Magi came, see Hyde.

Hyde, Rel. Vet. Persar. cap. xxx.

are said to look for a Phélo; the Japanese for a Peirum and a Cambadoxi; and the Siamese for Sommono-Codam. If we are to credit the testimony of the Lettres Edifiantes, they inform us that the Hindus have not only obscure traditions of Paradise and the Fall of Man, but of a Messiah, their Veeshnu or Preserver, who should emerge from the bosom of Time, and rend both the sting and the poison from the inveterate foe of the human race. The prophecy of Confucius related to the same appearance; and a Chinese Emperor is reported to have sent ambassadors into the West, "ad Exquirendum "dictum Virum Sanctum, et Legem Sanctam." Mr. Wilford has since collected from the Sanscrit Writings some testimonies which serve to corroborate these opinions, and to prove, that these rumours had alarmed the Emperor of the East as well as the Emperor of Rome.

From Maurice.

Hyde, Rel. Vet. Pers. cap. xxxi.

Buchanan, E.E. Est. p. 119.

Other marks and evidences might be produced, if it were necessary, of the general dispersion of the Jews, and of the acquaintance of the East with many of their peculiar tenets and prophecies; but it is sufficient to have proved, that some traces of a purer light might be perceived amidst the general darkness, and that the prospect of a brighter day was dawning on the world, before the fuller revelation of the Gospel.

If we also consider the state of the world, at the time of our Saviour's appearance, many things will be found to have concurred by a particular providence, towards the propagation of his religion. It was a period of profound peace; the Roman Empire, recovering from the effects of a long and bloody civil war, was then under the politic government of Augustus. The barbarous nations on the frontier, awed by his power, had been taught in some measure to set a higher estimation upon the arts and improvements of civilized life; the distant Parthian, humbled by defeat, restrained his incursions; and ambassadors arrived with honourable presents from the Kings of India, to court the alliance of the Emperor.

In this state of tranquillity, the benign influence of letters and

philosophy became more generally diffused, and prepared the way for those important changes, which were destined, to banish the rites and deities of heathen reverence. The sceptre had already departed from Judah; for Herod, whom the Romans had made king over Judea, was by birth an Idumæan. Hebrew ceased to be the living language of the Jews during the Babylonish Captivity; after that period, the Jewish productions were in general either in Chaldæan or Greek*; and, for some years before the appearance of our Saviour, the "Jews of Palestine were so unable to comprehend the "Hebrew original without the assistance of a Chaldee paraphrase, "that it was necessary to undertake a Greek translation, because "that language was known to the Jews of Alexandria." The Greek was then, what the Persian, is now, in the higher circles and diplomatic correspondence of the East, the language of the court, and the necessary accomplishment of every polished man. The successes of Alexander had generally diffused it throughout Asia; it was current in the courts of the Bactrian kings; and was not only cultivated for its own peculiar beauties, but as the chief medium of communication in civil and military, as well as commercial affairs†.

Marsh. Vind. Pentateuch.

Cosm. Indicopl. apud. Topog. Christian. p. 344.

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* It necessarily follows that every book which is written in pure Hebrew was composed either before, or about the time, of the Babylonish Captivity. Marsh. Vindication Penta.

† The Greeks, and especially the Romans, settled their conquests in such a manner, as in a great measure, to introduce their language among the conquered nations; and by the employment of their armies, in times of peace, in the improvement of the highways, they facilitated the passage of the legions to the different stations. Communication between the most distant parts of the empire became therefore safe and commodious. Gibbon, R. E. Vol. I. c. ii. p. 38, 4to.

Many learned Greeks accompanied Alexander in his Eastern expedition, and many of his soldiers settled in his distant conquests. Ptolemy Physcon expelled great numbers of Greeks and Egyptians from Alexandria, who found an asylum among the Persians and Indians.

In the earliest times, (says Hyde), the Greek language was so celebrated, "ut Relig. Vet. Pers. p. 65.

Greek versions of the Jewish Scriptures were frequent in the East: they were preserved in the splendid library of Ptolemy at Alexandria *; used in the synagogues in Jerusalem, Alexandria, and other cities; and referred to by the early apologists for Christianity, as books long known and understood in the Pagan world.

Thus was a language, eminently perfect, destined to convey a knowledge of divine truths into the countries, where science chiefly flourished, and where the spirit of inquiry had been already awakened, to examine into the proofs and relative importance of the Christian dispensation.

Christianity, in its early progress, encountered the greatest difficulties from the Jews. Not content with crucifying the Messiah, and persecuting his disciples, they invented against them the greatest calumnies, and sent emissaries into different parts of the world, to discountenance his followers, and proclaim the impiety of their doctrines.

Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. IV. c. xviii. Fabric. Lux. Evang. c. vi.

Had the precepts of Christ's religion, like the heathen superstitions, been suited to the temporal interests and passions of mankind, and stolen insensibly into the world, amidst the revolutions of ages, our wonder would have been less excited; or had it, like Mahomedanism, been planted by power and force of arms, its success would have been no argument of its divine origin. Had it been adorned with every imaginable advantage of eloquence and erudition, had it borrowed all the graces of the heathen philosophy, these might have

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" plurima propria nomina Persica et Chaldaica terminationibus Græcis desinere, et " Græco more sonari solerent, inde est quòd Bel sæpe in Chaldaicis nominibus " legatur Βηλος—Jupiter." The same with the Syrians and Phœnicians.

* Tertullian says, that in his time they were in the Alexandrian Library. In the days of Justinian, the Jews petitioned that it might be lawful for them to read the Septuagint Version, in their synagogues, as had before been their custom.

been looked upon but as human and ordinary circumstances, and according to the usual course of things. Or had the generality of men been free and indifferent, and not prepossessed with other apprehensions of God and religion, it might have been expected from them, that they should have entertained it with a readiness of mind, proportionable to its reasonableness and advantages. But the case was far otherwise: the multitude was devoted to the pomps and ceremonies of the heathen worship, and even the wise were unwilling to admit any change in a concern of such moment as their religion, more especially under the first appearances of Christianity. "The religion of the heathens was not merely a speculative doctrine, professed in the schools, or preached in the temples; the innumerable deities and rights of Polytheism were closely interwoven with every circumstance of business or pleasure, of public or of private life; and it seemed impossible, to escape the observance of them, without at the same time renouncing the commerce of mankind, and the amusements and offices of society. The important transactions of peace and war were prepared or concluded by solemn sacrifices, in which the magistrate, the senator, and the soldier, were obliged to preside, or to participate. The public spectacles were an essential part of the cheerful devotions of the Pagans; and the gods were supposed to accept, as the most grateful offering, the games that the prince and people celebrated in honour of their peculiar festivals." Gibbon, R. E. c. ii. 15.

That a doctrine, therefore, so contrary to the passions and prejudices of men; that an "exitiabilis superstitio," as it is called by Tacitus*, persecuted and reviled by the philosophers, and unsupported by any secular power, should spread so rapidly as it did,

* Repressaque in præsens exitiabilis superstitio rursus erumpebat, non modo per Judæam—originem ejus mali, sed per urbem etiam. Tacit. Annal. Lib. XV. XLIV.

not only through Judea and the Lesser Asia *, but through Rome, its senate, and palaces, was a forcible argument for the divinity of its origin, and could be attributed to nothing but a divine power.

Fabric. Lux Evang. c. xxvii.

That a Galilean Peasant should subdue the world to the faith and obedience of his religion, and accomplish his purpose by means to appearance so insufficient, and by ways so improbable, "may seem

Barrow's Works, Vol. II. p. 270.

"to reason no less a miracle of Providence against the course of "human affairs, than the miracles performed by or for our Lord, "were miracles to sense above the power of natural causes, both ar- "guing the presence and assistance of Omnipotency." The work was a victory over the world, achieved by the Gospel, a victory the most astonishing and extraordinary, whether we consider the character of the combatants who fought for it, or of those who opposed it. It is one of the strongest proofs of the divine original of Christianity,

Sale's Koran, Pre. Disc. Vol.I. p. 65. Fabric. Lux Evang. c. xxv. p. 493.

that it prevailed against all the force and powers of the world, by the mere dint of its own truth, after having stood the assaults of all manner of persecutions, as well as other oppositions, for three hundred years together, and at length made the Roman Emperors themselves

Paley. Evid. Vol. II. p. 286.

submit to it. The religion of Christ flourished in the most polished age of the Roman Empire: the religion of Mahomed sprung up in a period of darkness; was addressed solely to the passions of its

Ibid. p. 249.

rude disciples; and was propagated by the sword. Mahomed professed to disclaim the power of working miracles: the Christian system had for its very basis and postulatum a supernatural character

See Origines Sacræ, chap. ix. sect. ix.

ascribed to a "particular person, a doctrine, the truth whereof "depended entirely upon the truth of a matter of fact then recent," and which, had it been of a doubtful nature, might have easily been disproved by the jarring relations of its witnesses.

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* The converts to the Christian religion were then so numerous at Rome, that of those who were betrayed by the information of the persons first persecuted, a great multitude were discovered and seized—"multitudo ingens;" Tacitus.

The crucifixion of our Saviour had left, we may suppose, many of his disciples in great uncertainty, both as to what they were to do, and what was to follow; but his resurrection from the dead, his many subsequent appearances and conversation with them, and, above all, his visible ascension into heaven, fortified the timorous, confirmed the hopes of the faithful, and satisfied the doubts of those who had wavered at his crucifixion. Paley, Evid. Vol. II. p. 210.

It had been declared, that the gospel should be preached to all nations, but that the Apostles should not depart from Jerusalem until they had been more fitly qualified for the religion they were to establish in their Master's name. The gift of languages, and other manifestations of the divine will, were yet to be conferred, in order to enable them not only to preach the gospel to the most distant nations, but to confirm its truth by correspondent acts of supernatural influence. "He who gave them from above such power for miraculous confirmation of what they taught, endued them also with wisdom from above to teach what they so confirmed. Our Saviour made choice of twelve simple and unlearned men, that the greater their lack of natural wisdom was, the more admirable that might appear which God endued them with from heaven." Whoever, "therefore, knew the poor and simple estate in which they had lived, could not but wonder to hear the wisdom of their speech, and be so much the more attentive to their preaching." "A few fishermen, publicans, tent-makers, and other persons of like quality, were the chosen instruments of this great work, were the brave soldiers who set themselves in array against all the majesty and authority, all the force and violence, all the craft and policy, all the learning, wit, and eloquence, all the passion and rage of men, and all the cunning, malice, and revenge, of all the powers of darkness." Hooker's Eccl. Polity. Barrow's Works.

Nor without such an immediate testimony to its first humble

preachers*, could they have been qualified, with any probability of success, to contend with the violent and almost invincible prejudices of men educated in a contrary religion, and armed with all the force and favour of secular laws and authority. Without these miraculous gifts and signs, without the divine seal impressed upon their commission, is it probable that Christianity would have made a rapid progress with infidel nations? Is it probable, that, assailed on all sides, it would still have triumphed over every obstacle, grown insensibly under oppression, and finally extended its dominion throughout the world?

Luke xxi. 15.

The Jews, though aided by the Septuagint Version of their Scriptures, and the protection and support of some of the Ptolemies, had, with all their zeal, made, in the course of 400 or 500 years, but few proselytes to their religion; but no sooner were the Christian doctrines made known to the world, than they were readily embraced by great numbers almost in all places where they were published.

The Apostles having been endowed with miraculous power †, no longer delayed their important mission. The feast of Pentecost had assembled at Jerusalem, the proselytes of all nations; their expectation had been already raised by the reports of the late occurrences, and they were perhaps prepared for still more important events, when the Apostles began to preach the gospel to them in their

A. D. 33.

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* The slow progress which Christianity has made in the East and West, for the last two hundred years, is the best evidence of what progress it would have made at its first appearance in Judea, had it not been accompanied by miraculous evidence. The Greenlanders demanded of their instructors, the same display of miracles, as the Apostles had shewn.—Paley Evid. Vol. II. p. 250-259—Robertson's India, p. 321.

† The gospel, which was the perfection and fulfilling of the law, began to be published at a period, corresponding to the time, when the law was given from Mount Sinai, *i. e.* at the end of the seven weeks after the Passover.

vernacular language. The evidence of such an extraordinary power, and the wonderful manner in which it had been conferred, were strong proofs of the divinity of their doctrine. Their blameless lives and manners attracted also the favour of the people, and served to check the hatred of the Jews. The number of converts, therefore, daily increased; when the Sanhedrim, fearful of their influence, threatened the Apostles with the severest punishment, if they persisted in their mission. But a zeal thus divinely supported, was not to be shaken by the terrors of the law; and the councils of their enemies were defeated by the very means they had adopted to ensure success.

The first signal of persecution was the martyrdom of Stephen, which, by dispersing the converts, caused the religion in some measure to disappear in Judea; but it was successfully preached in the villages of Samaria and the adjacent countries; and the eunuch of the Queen of Ethiopia * having been baptized at Gaza by the hands of Philip, the gospel was afterwards preached at Azotus and other cities in the way to Cæsarea. A. D. 34.

In the second year after the crucifixion, St. Paul having been miraculously converted, began his mission at Damascus; and, escaping the resentment of his enemies, went to Tarsus in Cilicia, where he constantly preached the gospel to the heathens. The Christian Church, in the mean time, increased in Judea, Galilee, and Samaria. "Numerous societies were already established in these "countries, which had been the scene of Christ's miracles and mini-"stry, and where the memory of what had passed, and the know-"ledge of what was alleged, must have yet been fresh and certain." Tiberii 21. Paley's Evid. Vol. II. p. 246.

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* Candace had been made a tributary to Rome six years after the conquest of Egypt by Augustus. Candace was, probably, like Augustus or Cæsar, adopted by the Ethiopian Queens as a title of honour. The Eunuch of Candace is afterwards said to have preached the gospel to the Zeylanensibus (Ceylon)—etiam et felicis Arabiæ Incolis.—Nubianos convertit Thomas Apostolus. Bruce's Travels. Fabric. Lux Evang. c. xiv. p. 709.

Hitherto the greatest number of converts had been either Jews or Samaritans; for, though at their dispersion after the death of
Acts xi. 19. Stephen, many had travelled into Phænicia, Cyprus, and Antioch, the gospel, except by the labours of St. Paul, had only been preached
A. D. 41. to those of the Jewish race *. The other Apostles having, however, been instructed that the Christian religion, and the privileges of the divine favour, were not confined to a particular nation, but were intended for the benefit of all mankind, their attention was henceforth directed as well to the Heathens as the Jews.

In the year 43, a great persecution was raised by Herod, in compliance with the instigation of the Jews, in which James, the brother of John, was killed, and Peter was imprisoned. But the tyrant's vengeance was short, and his life ended more wretchedly than it had been spent.

A. D. 44. Christianity flourished in defiance of these obstacles. Paul and Barnabas having been sent from Jerusalem to Seleucia, they sailed for Cyprus, and preached the gospel at Salamis, the capital of the island: whence, passing to Paphos, they converted the Roman deputy, Sergius Paulus. But the laborious ministry of St. Paul has been so accurately described by other writers, that it seems unnecessary to enlarge upon it at present, or to trace his progress from Jerusalem to the Syrian Sea, the coast of Asia Minor, and the islands of the Morea.

Erasmus, 55. From the commencement of his ministry in 37 to the year 60, a period of 23 years, St. Paul passed several times from Jerusalem through the countries which he had formerly visited, preaching at all

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* The Greeks of Antioch had heard the gospel from some of the first disciples of Christ. After the baptism of Cornelius, Paul and Barnabas effectually contributed to
Annal. Lib. XV. c. xliv. their conversion. At Antioch, the disciples were first called Christians. Tacitus thus speaks of them: Quos per flagitia invisos, vulgus Christianos appellabat.

the principal places on his progress, and confirming the truth of Christianity by miracles, and the labours of an exemplary life. Having resided some time at Athens, where he had been carried before the court of Areopagus, and encountered the Stoicks and Epicureans, he was strongly urged to visit the converts at Rome *, for whose spiritual welfare he had long expressed the most anxious concern. The malice of his enemies hastened his intentions, and his appeal to Cæsar from the tribunal of Festus, gave him the desired opportunity, though under a military escort.

In his voyage to Italy he was exposed to great dangers in the Adriatic Sea; and, after having been miraculously rescued from shipwreck at Melita or Malta, he was at length landed at Syracuse. From Sicily, he passed over into Italy, where he found many converts at Rhegium, Puteoli, and other towns on his way to the capital.

At Rome, St. Paul is supposed to have remained undisturbed two years, preaching the gospel to both Jews and Christians, and faithfully employed in the duties of his ministry †.

Neronis, 7. A. D. 61. Fabricius. 63, others.

By the preaching of our Saviour, the zeal of St. Paul and of the

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* St. Paul is said to have visited Rome twice. Of his travels that are certainly known, the Acts speak largely. Historians have, however, extended his labours even to the remotest regions—"Usque ad Hispanias et Mare Rubrum, imò ab Oceano "usque ad Oceanum." For Arabia, see Galat. i. 17.

Fabric. Lux Evang. p. 35. 57. c. ii. iv. 374. 407. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ.

The principal seat of St. Paul's ministry was, the rich provinces that extend from the Euphrates to the Ionian Sea. He penetrated beyond Thrace and Macedonia into Illyria, passed through the countries where Peter had taught more than once, and founded churches at Corinth, Athens, Sparta, Damascus, Beræa, or Aleppo, and Antioch.

† Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy is said to have been written A. D. 66, when he was brought a second time before Nero. According to Eusebius, Paul and Peter are supposed to have been martyred in Nero's great persecution in 44. This has, however, been contested, as being absolutely irreconcileable with chronology. "Lactantius says, "Nerone imperante, Petrus Romam advenit."—Fabric. L. E. c. xi. p. 34.

Ecc. H. B. II. c. xxv. Paley's H. P. chap. xii. p. 339.

Apostles *, and the mission of the Seventy, the gospel had now been effectually promulgated, not only throughout Judea, Egypt †, Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy ‡, but the more distant parts of the world had been visited; and it is recorded that in less than thirty years after the death of Christ, his religion had not only been diffused through the Roman Empire, but had spread as far as Parthia and India.

The distance of time, and the want of authentic records, have, however, involved in obscurity the most interesting points of the ministry of the apostles: for although, in the early ages of the church, many histories were current, of the labours and extent of their mission, they have been since so altered by the Armenians, Catholics, and Greeks, that truth can scarcely be distinguished from fable. In the division of the Gentile world made between the Apostles in the twelfth year after the Passion, we are told, that "Petrus Antiochiam "venit §, deinde Romam resedit, et ibidem crucifigitur. Paulus "mundum prædicatione suâ lustravit, et Romæ decollatur. Andreas

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* Though the Seventy, as it appears from the express words of St. Luke, were, during our Saviour's life, confined to Judea, it is probable that, after the Ascension, they performed the function of Evangelists, and preached the gospel in other countries. It is also recorded, that many eminent converts cheerfully divided their fortunes among their more indigent brethren; and supported in a peculiar manner by the divine favour, travelled into the most distant regions, devoting their lives to the service of their Master, and the diffusion of his religion.

Euseb. in Trajan.

† The general consent of Antiquity has assigned Egypt to St. Mark, who was sent there by Peter. From him the Alexandrian bishops derived their order of succession.

‡ Irenæus tells us, that the Church was planted throughout the world by Christ and his Apostles.—See also Fabricius Lux Evan. c. i. p. 15. in τῶν κύκλων—"Saracenos, "Persas, Armenios, reliquosq. Barbaros."

Advers Hæres. Lib. I. c. ii.

Rom. xv. 19.

§ St. Peter is supposed to have written his first Epistle from Babylon. This city was then in existence, though it had suffered greatly by the building of Seleucia by Seleucus.

Marsh, Michaelis, Vol. IV. p. 328, &c.

"Achaiæ crucifigitur. Jacobus Zebedei Hierosolymis decollatur. Fabric. Lux Evang. cap. v. p. 93.
"Joannes Ephesi in pace moritur. Philippus in Phrygia lapidatur et
"crucifigitur. Jacobus Alphei* fuste fullonis perimitur. Bartholomeus
"in India excoriatus decollatur. Thomas in alia India, quæ est in
"fine mundi transfigitur. Simon et Thaddeus in Persida perimuntur.
"Matthæus in Ethiopia coram altari lancea perforatur. Matthias in
"Judæa martyrium complevit." We learn, indeed, from the authority of the Evangelical writings, that churches of very considerable importance had been established at Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, in Galatia, Bithynia, Pontus, Dalmatia, Amphipolis, Colossi, at Corinth, Athens, Alexandria, in Arabia, and many other principal cities and countries both in Asia and Europe; and from the severe edicts that were issued to punish and dismay its professors, we may reasonably conclude that the prevalence of the Christian faith must have caused a considerable alarm among the Roman Emperors and Governors. Ibid. p. 85.

The Romans were tolerant to the professors of all religions except that of the Jews, whose turbulent character and unsocial manners excited alike their hatred and suspicion; and it was natural that the Christians should be confounded with them, as both Jew and Christian seemed to spring from the same root.

The Romans did not indeed refuse to receive the gods of other nations into their city, though they received them with the air of conquerors, and carried them in their triumphal processions; but when strangers attempted to establish them by their own authority, they were immediately rejected. "It was also their custom "to give foreign deities the names of such of their own gods as Montesquieu Spirit of Laws, Vol. III. p. 134.

* The East was certainly allotted to Thomas and Bartholomew; Meridies to Simon and Matthew; Aquilo to Philip and Thaddeus; Meridies Mundi to Matthias and Jacobus Justus; the provinces of the Mediterranean Sea to John and Andrew; the kingdoms of the West to Peter, and James the son of Zebedee.

"were most conformable to the others in their attributes; but "when the Priests of other countries would introduce among them "the adoration of their divinities, under their proper names," the attempt was generally resisted; and this was the greatest obstacle to the progress of Christianity.

The Jews ventured besides to ridicule the absurdities of the Pagan system, and being ardent and assiduous in gaining proselytes, they were considered as dangerous enemies to the commonwealth; and hence the character attached to them of haters of mankind, "*per* "*flagitia invisos*," and of their religion, as a "*superstitio nova ac* "*maleficа*." Had the Jews or the Christians shewn no repugnance to sacrifice at the heathen altars, it is probable that they would have been treated with the same lenity and indulgence as other foreigners; but as they had neither temples, nor images, nor oracles, they were accused of Atheism, and those, convicted of such a charge, were, by the Roman law, declared the pests of society.

Tacit. Lib. IV. xliv. Annal.

Sueton. in Nerone, c. xvi.

A. D. 71. The destruction of Jerusalem, so clearly foretold by our Saviour, was accomplished in the days of Titus. This checked, in some measure, the malevolence and hostility of the Jews; for being no longer a separate nation, they were dispersed over the world, hated and despised both by Gentile and Christian, and doomed, as it were, still to carry with them, as a marked and peculiar people, the stamp and signature of the Divine displeasure.

But what the Jews could not effect by their arts, the Pagans endeavoured to execute by the sword. The Christians were every where assailed by the power, and reviled by the calumnies of their persecutors. The blameless lives, and unshaken fortitude of the Apostles, and first disciples, were, however, the best refutation of the charges brought against them by their enemies. The sword, the stake, and the faggot; the ingenious cruelties of a Nero and Domitian, and the edicts of milder Emperors, who had imbibed any prejudices

against Christianity, served only to increase and animate the zeal and courage of the survivors. Christianity rose more illustrious from the fury of its oppressors, and flourished under the blood and ashes of its martyrs.

We are well assured that the four Gospels were collected during the life of Saint John, and that the three first received his approbation*. The Epistles were also written by the Apostles, whose names they bear, to the various churches they had founded; thus leaving to the world a standard of divine truth that might serve to oppose the progress of the corrupt notions which their Master had foretold would soon arise, even among those, who most zealously professed to serve him. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. III. c. xxiv.

Clemens, Ignatius, Polycarp, were also either friends or disciples of the Apostles, or their immediate successors in the apostolic functions; and in the first, and the beginning of the second centuries, pure Christianity maintained its ground, in a great measure, against the corruptions, which soon afterwards gave it a new form and character.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that even in the latter part of the first century, many Christians had adopted, from the Jews, the absurd custom of darkening the plain text of the Scriptures, by insipid and forced allegories, and of drawing from their natural construction mysterious and hidden significations. Some had already even dared to dispute the divinity of our Saviour; but these opinions were for the present checked by the terrors of the civil power, and the reverence of the Apostles and their more immediate followers. 1 John ii. 19. 2 Corin. xi. 13. 2 Tim ii. 17. 2 Tim. i. 15. 2 Tim. iv. 10. Fabric. Lux Ev. cap. viii. s. iv.

Yet the authority of the Scriptures was in no case questioned, however their interpretation might have been mistaken. "Falso sci- Paley, Hor. Paul. p. 395.

* St. John had been appointed over the Mediterranean Isles and Asia Minor: he was banished to Patmos by Domitian, but lived to the age of Trajan, and died at Ephesus.

"entiæ," says Iræneus, "nomine inflati, scripturas quidem confi-
Paley's Evid. Vol. I. p. 277. "tentur, interpretationes vero convertunt." The testimony of So-
A. D. 440. crates, in later ages, confirms also the opinion "that in their seve-
"ral disputes each party endeavoured to support itself by the autho-
"rity of the Divine Scriptures."

But when the Apostles and their first disciples were extinct, the unity which had hitherto prevailed, could no longer subsist in a church, composed of Jews and Gentiles, who unfortunately seem ever to have regarded each other with the greatest aversion. Animosities, therefore, arose, and reformers appeared, who were either desirous of giving to Christianity a new interpretation, or of assimilating it with many of the tenets of the Grecian and Oriental schools.

A. D. 90. Among the early sects, the Gnostics* were the most numerous and distinguished. Some authors are inclined to refer their origin to the reign of Adrian, a period, when the Apostles were dead; but others, with a greater appearance of truth, have asserted, that St. John wrote

Mosheim. Ecc. His. Vol. I. p. 26. 68.

* The word is derived from Γνωσις, Science, a title, which, this sect claimed as due to their superior light and penetration in divine things. The Manichees made the devil the principle of all evil and imperfection—the Maker of the world, and, therefore, the God of it: the works of Moses were by some urged to be the work of his hands, or to have been dictated by his malignant agency. Their ideas of the two principles, the evil, Devil, or Demiurge, were, in many respects, conformable to the system of the Magians. The Gnostics denied that Christ was really come in the flesh, or that he had really suffered any bodily pain, affirming, that his death and resurrection were only in appearance. They allowed, that he was the Son of the Supreme God, but inferior to the Father. Considering the body as an incumbrance to the soul, it disposed those of a morose turn to contemplation, and every species of austerity, thinking, that the more the former was extenuated, the less would the latter be weakened by its influence. Those of a more voluptuous temper, maintained, that there was no moral difference in human actions, and, considering the actions of the body as having no relation of congruity or incongruity to the state of the soul in connexion with God, they indulged, without restraint, in every licentious gratification.

See Hyde Rel. Vet. Pers. c. xxi.

some of his Epistles expressly to refute their false and dangerous opinions. Under the general name of Gnostics were comprehended all those who, in the first ages of Christianity, corrupted the doctrine of the Gospel by the sophisms of the Pagan philosophy, and by their endless disputes concerning the origin of evil, the creation of the world, and the efficacy of magical rites. From the representations of the Deity, in the books of the Jewish and Christian dispensations, and the deep tincture they had imbibed in the Magian school, they affected to derive a good and evil principle, or a just God of the Old, and a good God of the New Testament.

It was from the bosom of this pretended Oriental wisdom, that the chiefs of those sects originally issued, in the three first centuries, whose subtle notions were opposed to the pure, simple, and sublime doctrines of the Gospel. Hence were derived to our own ancestors those theories "of a vain philosophy that attempted to penetrate into mysteries, and to decide questions, which the limited faculties of the human mind are unable to comprehend or to resolve. These over curious speculations were incorporated with the system of religion, and came to be considered as the most essential part of it."

Mosheim, Eccl. Hist. Vol. I. c.v. Part II.

Robertson, Charles V. Vol. I. p. 88.

CHAP. IX.

PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY FROM THE SECOND CENTURY TO THE BIRTH OF MAHOMED.

Second century.

THE second century gave some respite to the calamities which, in consequence of the increased number of converts, had desolated the capital and many of the provinces of the Empire. The Roman Princes at this period were, for the most part, of a mild and moderate temper; and though severe edicts were occasionally issued against the Christians, and even carried into execution, in the provinces, with a degree of cruelty that may well raise our horror and astonishment; yet some conciliatory laws were passed in their favour, and if they were not encouraged, accusation was repressed, search was forbidden to be made after them, and they were at least allowed to profess their opinions in silence.

Mosheim, Ecc. Hist.

It is not easy at present to point out with any precision the different countries on which the light of Christianity shone in this age: we are, however, informed, from the most respectable testimonies, that the Gospel had now been preached over all the world.

If the letter of Abgarus*, the Prince of Edessa, may be considered

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Fabric. L. Evan. cap. v. p. 112. Euseb. Lib. I. c. xiii. Gibbon, R. E. c. viii. Tavernier, P.T.

* Thaddeus, one of the Seventy, is first said to have taught in this city. Edessa was a city in Osrhoene, a part of Mesopotamia between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Its inhabitants, from the days of Alexander, were a mixed race of Greeks, Arabs, Syrians, and Armenians. Ourfa is the site on which Edessa stood. The inhabitants still shew the ruins of the Castle, whence Abgarus sent to Christ for his picture, and offered him his kingdom and his people, to defend him against the Jews, whom he understood to be his enemies.

as authentic, which, according to Eusebius, was extracted from the public records, preserved in that city, in the Syriac tongue; it may be readily believed that many of the inhabitants of Mesopotamia had been induced, by his influence and authority, to adopt the Christian faith. It is also probable that the Arabians bordering both upon Syria and Egypt, had been early acquainted with the Christian religion, for the Apostles and disciples were ardent in their Master's service, and omitted no opportunity of promoting it.

Egypt had long been the seat of a respectable church, whose founder was the Evangelist Mark. Alexandria was already famous for its schools, and hence Ministers were sent over parts of Africa, Arabia, and India. The Ethiopians, we have reason to believe, were early converted; and the Abyssinians, who had probably embraced Judaism from Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, received the Christian doctrines either from the Apostles, or some of the teachers of the Alexandrine school. Appendix.

The intercourse also between India, Arabia, and Egypt, whilst it increased the riches of the Empire, facilitated the means of propagating the Gospel. The stories recorded of St. Thomas have, in all probability, some foundation in truth; to him Parthia was allotted, and in the course of his travels, he probably entered India by the provinces of Media, Hyrcania, Bactria, Carmania, countries which formed a principal part of the Parthian empire. Many of the idolatrous Indians are said to have been converted by his preaching; and his success would have been still more complete, had not the Brahmins, who dreaded the progress of his doctrines, conspired to destroy him at Meliapour, then the emporium of commerce, and the capital of the kingdom of Coromandel. Appendix.

Tradition has also given to Bartholomew the same distant mission; and Pantænus, who, in the days of Commodus, was Governor of the Alexandrine school, following the same course, found there a Fabric. Lux Ev. cap. xxxvi.

Euseb. Ecc. Hist. Lib. V. c. 10.

copy of the Gospel of St. Matthew, in Hebrew, which had probably been carried by Bartholomew* out of Judæa.

It is certain, however, that India maintained at that time an extensive commerce with the capitals of Persia, Arabia, and Syria; that the Greek language, from the days of Alexander, had been cultivated at the courts of the eastern Princes, and that many Apocryphal Gospels were dispersed over Asia, where the Syriac and Ancient Persian† versions might be easily procured. The Indian devotees were then also in the habit of undertaking long pilgrimages‡ to the remotest parts of Asia, in search of the sacred fountains and "flaming springs "of Naptha:" they could not, therefore, fail in their intercourse with the natives of the countries they visited, to obtain some information concerning the religion of the Gospel.

Whilst Christianity was thus spreading through the East, its progress was no less successful in the regions of the North and West§.

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* Bartholomew, it was said, had that India assigned to him which lies on the confines of Æthiopia. Fabric. p. 104—a Sophronio—Socrat. Scholas. Lib. I. c. xix.

† Sir W. Jones asserts, that six or seven words in ten of these languages, as then spoken, were pure Sanscrit. Syriac was the language of Palestine, when Christianity was first established there; though the Scriptures were written in Greek, to give them a more extended circulation. Greek was so well known, that the letter of the Indian Porus to Augustus was written in that language, upon vellum; the Septuagint version was also familiar through the East. The Syriac version bears marks of the highest antiquity, and was used by the inhabitants of Syria.

See Paley, Evid. Vol. I. p. 266. La Croze, Hist. de Christianism. d' Ethiopie. Liv. I.

‡ At Baku, on the Caspian Sea, Mr. Forster met with some Sanyasses, on their pilgrimage to the Atashgah, or Naphtha fires, in that neighbourhood.

Forster's Trav.

§ There exists not (says Justin Martyr) a people, whether Greek or barbarian, or any other race of men, by whatsoever appellation or manners they may be distinguished, however ignorant of arts or agriculture, whether they dwell in tents, or wander about in covered waggons, among whom prayers are not offered up in the name of a crucified Jesus, to the Father and Creator of all things.

Quæ in India gesta sunt apud Seras, Persas, et Medos. Arnob. in Moshem. Eccl. Tart. p. 7.

By some of these nations, a very early origin is ascribed to their churches; but the history of their foundation is involved in too much obscurity to enable us to decide the claim of priority.

Irenæus had been in his youth instructed by Polycarp, who was a disciple of St. John; he succeeded Pothinus as Bishop of Lyons, and successfully preached the Gospel to the Gauls. Previously also to this period, we find an Epistle written from the Churches of Lyons and Vienne, in France, to those of Asia and Phrygia, giving a relation of the sufferings of their martyrs. During the two first centuries, the Gospel had been preached to the Germans, the Celts, Africans, and even the distant Isles of Britain; Transalpine Gaul had become eminent for the learning of her Ministers and the number of her churches, and translations of the sacred books were every where dispersed. It must, however, be remembered, that the rapid progress of the Gospel among civilized and barbarous nations, had been greatly promoted by the miraculous gifts with which the Apostles, and, on some especial occasions, their first converts, appear to have been endowed: but of the time and age when these powers were taken away, much controversy has been raised. It is probable, that when the Gospel had been promulged amongst the most distant nations*, and had acquired sufficient strength to withstand the power of its enemies, miracles ceased; the necessity no longer existing for such extraordinary manifestations of the Divine Power. The Church had now, in all points of form, assumed the same rank and distinction of orders which attended it in its more prosperous days, when the Emperors had subscribed to its doctrines.

A.D. 170. Paley's Evid. Vol. I. p. 208. Fabric. Lux Evang. c. xvii. p. 394.

This century was distinguished by many eminent men, whose writings in favour of the Christians assisted their cause, and softened

* A Marci Antonini jam temporibus defecisse gratias illas extraordinarias contendit Hen. Dodwell. Fabric. Lux Evang. cap. ix. p. 169.

the rigour of the decrees, which, in the reigns even of some of the
A. D. 104. most virtuous Princes, had been cruelly executed. It was, in consequence of these severities, that Pliny wrote his letter to Trajan*: the character he there gives of the Christians is, that he could find no fault in them besides their obstinate refusal to sacrifice to the Gods; that an essential part of their duty, at their religious meetings, was to renounce and abjure those vices, which were so prevalent with the Heathens, and to oblige themselves, by a solemn sacrament, to the observance of a peaceful and virtuous behaviour. Yet Trajan persecuted the Christians; and by his order the virtuous Ignatius, the friend and disciple of the Apostles, and the Bishop of the Syrian Antioch, was carried to Rome†, and exposed to wild beasts in the theatre.

A.D. 164. In the reign of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, the same suspicions remained, and the same excesses were continued. Antoninus was a philosopher, yet would not condescend‡ to inquire into the real character of those whom he persecuted, but inflicted upon them more calamities than they had experienced since the days of Nero.

A.D. 168-162. Polycarp, the aged Bishop of Smyrna, and Justin Martyr, who had,

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* Multi omnis ætatis, utriusque sexûs etiam, neque enim civitates tantum, sed "vicos etiam et agros, superstitionis istius contagio pervagata est."

A. D. 125. † In the reign of Adrian, Jerusalem, which had in some measure risen from its ruins, was again destroyed, and Ælia Capitolina arose on the site of the old city. It was colonized by foreigners, and no Jew was suffered to enter it upon pain of death. The frequent disturbances raised by the Jews in the Gentile towns, more especially in Syria and Egypt, where they were admitted to the rights of citizens, had excited against the whole nation a general hatred and distrust; but the principal cause of their present distress was the rebellion of Barchochebas, who had criminated the Christians in his revolt, because they would not join his standards. In the reign of Adrian, Celsus wrote against the Christians; his writings were ably answered by Origen, in the following century.

Fabric. Lux Evan. cap. vii. p. 137.

Ibid. cap. viii. p. 145.

‡ Convinced, however, afterwards, of the falsity of the accusations alleged against the Christians, other edicts were issued in their favour.

Fabric. Lux Evan. cap. xii. p. 225. 231.

in 139—150, presented his apologies to Antoninus Pius, were the victims of the persecution, and the French churches of Lyons and Vienne were almost destroyed. A. D. 177.

During the reign of Severus, the Christians enjoyed no security, and rigid edicts were published against their religion. A. D. 197 to 203.

Amid these troubles, the opinions of the Gnostics, under the new name of Eclectics, or Platonics, appear to have gained considerable ground. The principal seat of this sect was at Alexandria; and many converts were even to be found amongst some of the most pious and learned of the church, whose fondness for allegory and eagerness to bring about a union between the doctrines of Christianity, and the opinions of the Philosophers, led them frequently to dangerous conclusions. Their principal opinions were collected from the philosophy of Plato, and the mysteries of the Egyptian and Eastern schools, concerning the eternity of the world, the nature of the soul, the empire of Providence, and the subordinate power of dæmons. They held that truth was to be preserved with the utmost liberty, and to be collected from all the different systems in which it lay dispersed: but, though they agreed in the main points, they thought very differently upon other subjects*. From the same corrupted sources arose that fondness for an indolent life which, under the specious pretext of contemplation, led myriads of Monks into cells, or the solitude of the desert, where they could no longer be useful to society, either by their instruction or example. Nor was

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* The Essenes and Therapeutæ dwelt in Egypt long before the coming of Christ; led there by a gloomy turn of mind, they renounced all the comforts of life, and devoted themselves to solitude and contemplation. The Ascetics succeeded them, whose notions were derived from the Eclectic or Platonic school, and who, retiring into the deserts, under the notion of rendering themselves more acceptable to the Deity, practised austerities the most senseless and incredible.

it only in matters of doctrine and practice that the purity of Christianity was diminished. The first and simple ceremonies of the church had been gradually multiplied, by the adoption of many of the Pagan customs and Jewish rites; and a violent controversy had arisen between the eastern and western churches, about the proper time of celebrating the great festivals of Easter and Whitsuntide.

The mischief of speculative opinions was not, however, confined to the Eclectics. During the apostolic age, the Ebionites and Nazarenes had assigned an equal rank to Christ and Moses; but until this period no particular denomination of Christians had arisen from the profession of their tenets. In addition, however, to the Mosaic dispensation, they affected to receive with equal reverence the superstitions of their ancestors, and the traditions which had been added to the law.

From these and the Gnostics, sprung the principal heresies, which disturbed the peace of the church. Other sects are indeed mentioned by the ecclesiastical writers; but except in their names, which served as a symbol for a party, they are little known to us, and the scanty memorial of their tenets that has escaped the wreck of time, has left us nothing to regret but the weakness of unassisted reason, in endeavouring to reduce the counsels of Omnipotence to the level of the human understanding.

Third century. At the beginning of this century, the number of Christians had considerably increased; there were many in the army, at court, and in all orders of the empire *; for in this age, the Christian profession was no obstacle to employment. The places of public worship were

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Tertullian. Apol. c. xxxvii. * Hesterni sumus et vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, senatum, forum, sola vobis relinquimus templa.

under the knowledge and connivance of the Emperors, or magistrates, although these advantages could not secure them from perpetual dangers.

Deceived by the reports of the Pagan priests, the Emperors issued against them new edicts, and Africa and Asia were deluged with their blood. To the furious vengeance of Maximin succeeded the violent zeal of Decius-Trajan. Many Christians, dismayed at the approach of death, and unable to encounter the tortures that awaited their perseverance, apostatized from the faith; whilst others endured their torments with a fortitude, which extorted the admiration of their persecutors. A. D. 249.

In the reign of Valerian, Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, and other eminent men, fell victims to the popular fury; and though intervals of rest occurred, they tended little to the comfort and security of the church. A. D. 258.

The eloquence of the schools increased also the vengeance of the law; and Porphyry *, at the head of the philosophers, by contrasting the precepts of Christianity with the ancient system of the Pythagorean

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* Porphyry, a Syrian by birth, was at first the disciple of Longinus, the author of the Treatise on the Sublime and Beautiful, and then the distinguished disciple of Plotinus. Plotinus had learned under Ammonius all the tenets of the Eclectic and Platonic school, and was endowed with a genius capable of the most profound researches. This philosopher first taught in Persia, and afterwards at Rome, and in Campania. From the time of Ammonius until the sixth century, this was almost the only philosophy that was publicly taught at Alexandria. Many of the disciples of Plotinus who adopted Christianity, retained a great partiality for the doctrines of their heathen chief, and contributed not a little to promote them. Origen was himself infected with the new Platonism, and warmly recommended it to the young men who attended his public lectures. The Gnostics lost at this time considerable ground, being attacked both by the Christians and the Platonists, some of whose opinions they opposed. At the head of their antagonists was Plotinus himself. Mosheim, Eccl. Hist.

school, endeavoured to diminish its excellence, and confute the authenticity of its records.

Paley's Evid. Vol. II. p 287.

Tertullian at this time enumerates as converts, besides many other countries, the Moors and Gætulians of Africa, the borders of Spain, several nations of France, and parts of Britain inaccessible to the Romans; the Sarmatians, Daci, Germans and Scythians.

Paley's Evid. Vol. II. p. 381. and Fabr. Lux Evang. cap. l. p. 796, a Chrysostom.

But Christianity was not then more distinguished by the number of its converts, than by the blameless tenor of their lives. "A Christian "writer tells us, that neither in Parthia do the Christians, though "Parthians, use polygamy; nor in Persia, though Persians, do they "marry their own daughters; nor among the Bactri or Galli do they "violate the sanctity of marriage; nor wherever they are, do they "suffer themselves to be overcome by ill-constituted laws and "manners."

But as the church increased in numbers, it decayed in discipline*. The partiality of Origen for the Platonic tenets, and his proneness to allegory in the explanation of the gospel, were carried to a more dangerous pitch by his disciples; and scholastic or philosophical theology, usurping the place of sound sense and Christian modesty, gave rise to licentious interpretations of the scriptures. The Mystics, or the disciples of the Gnostic school, and the Christians, who had been compelled by the persecution of Decius, to fly into the deserts of the Thebaid, resigned themselves to a life of abstraction and retirement, and submitted to all the penitential miseries that a gloomy imagination could suggest. Pious deceptions abounded in the church, the most

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Fabric. Lux Evang. a Rufino, c. xii. p. [illegible]

* Atque ipsi qui duces populi videbantur et principes, divini mandati immemores effecti, adversùm se invicem contentionibus, zelo, livore, superbia, inimicitiis atque odiis inflammantur ita ut tyrannidem potius quam sacerdotium tenere se crederent, Christianæ humilitatis et sinceritatis obliti, sacra mysteria profanis mentibus celebrarent.

illustrious names were often forged in the defence of particular tenets; and many of the disputants, regardless of the means, so that victory were the result, deemed it no longer unlawful to advance the cause of religion by fraud or stratagem. Controversies also arose about unessential points of doctrine and practice, and the African, Asiatic, and Roman churches were harassed and divided by the jarring claims of their several pontiffs.

In this age, Manes *, or Manichæus, by birth a Persian, and of the Magian sect, before he had adopted Christianity, endeavoured, as Montanus had done in the second century, to connect the gospel with the creed of Zoroaster. He styled himself the Paraclete †, or Com- Sale's Koran, Vol. II. p. 496. n.

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* Sir W. Jones says, that Mâni, or Manes, was a painter in the days of Shapor, King of Persia, A. D. 212. Shapor persecuting him, he fled into Tartary, and to the borders of China. Manes blended with his doctrine the metempsychosis of Brahma and Veeshnu, the two principles of Zeratusht, and many of the tenets of the gospel. The Parsees and the Hindus of Creeshna's sect seem to follow at this day many of the strange opinions of the Manichees. "Christi formam et personam induere conatus "est: et interdum Paracletum se vocans, Spiritum Sanctum de se prædicavit. Pes- "sima sua dogmata, tanquam venena, de Persarum regione, in nostras partes trans- "tulit." "Apparuisse Christum, κατὰ φαντασίαν καὶ δοκησιν, specie tantum non reverâ, "caruisse enim humanâ naturâ, sola præditum divinâ; atque ita quoque non reâpse "passum, sed pati visum, exteriore homines specie fefellisse." Manichæism was divided into many sects. They had their Illuminati, Electi, Auditores. The Electi "nihil faciunt, ut meditationibus vacarent." The Auditores were bound under the penalty of a slower metempsychosis to supply the Electi with food and necessaries. "Electis omnia religionis arcana communicata erant, a quibus auditores arcebantur." "Promissionem Christi de Paracleto, seu Spirito Sancto, in Manete fuisse completam, "sese enim esse Spiritum Sanctum aiebat, seq. ea propter apostolum Christi voca- "bat." "Fatum omnia regere, fato fieri omnia." "Deum lucem, et materiam te- "nebras."—"Duos enim æternos et ingenitos statuit." "Mundum a Deo malo." "Legem Mosaicam a Principe tenebrarum." "Magos et astrologos sectabatur, et "se suosq. peccare non posse aiebat." Vol. V. p. 600. Mosheim, Eccl. Hist. Vol. I. c. v. Socrat. Schol. Lib. I. c. xxii. See the authorities quoted by Hyde, Relig. Vet. Persar. cap. 21.

† The Mahomedan Doctors choose to read this word Periclyte, or Illustrious, and they quote it from the forged Gospel of St. Barnabas, of which the Moriscoes in Africa have a Spanish translation. Sale's Koran, P. D. p. 53.

forter, a title, which was afterwards successfully adopted by Mahomed, and asserted that he was destined to perfect the gospel, by the addition of some doctrines omitted by our Saviour.

The doctrine of Manes was a mixture of the Christian tenets with the ancient philosophy of the Persians; and the two systems were so combined as to accommodate to our Saviour, the character and actions attributed to Mithras. A very considerable success attended the labours of the Impostor. Upper Asia, and a great part of Persia, received, and were corrupted by his tenets; and the Magians were every where reviled and persecuted. "Inter tot mala," says Fabricius, "oppugnationes, &c. conservatam a Deo et propagatam tam "longè latèque fuisse et hostibus suis prevaluisse Ecclesiam Christi, "admirari vehementèr cogatur *."

Fabric. Lux Evan. c. viii.

Fourth century. The Roman Empire was, at the beginning of this century, divided between several Princes, who, though they did not adopt Christianity, seem to have respected its professors. This repose was, however, of short duration, and was followed by one of the most sanguinary persecutions that ever disgraced the Roman annals. The Pagan Priests had long seen, with regret, their deserted altars, and the profits of their office sensibly diminishing with their influence over the minds of the people. Urged by Galerius, his partner in the Empire, and deceived by the reports of their enemies,

A.D. 303. Diocletian was induced to withdraw the protection which he had hitherto shewn to the Christians, and to aim against them all the penalties of new and abrogated laws. Except Gaul, and the western parts of Europe, which were then governed by Constantius Chlorus, Italy, Africa, and the whole Roman Empire, were deluged with

* The Scriptures appear to have been translated into the Coptic or Egyptian language, about the middle of the third century, although the Greek language was then used in the country.

Christian blood; their sacred books were every where collected and burned; the Priests were thrown into prison; and had not more serene days been preparing for it, the Christian church must, in all probability, have been soon annihilated. The prospect of this peace first dawned in Britain, where the army had hailed Constantine as Emperor; and his claim to the purple being soon afterwards confirmed, by the discomfiture and death of his rivals, the first measure of his government was the decree of Milan, granting a full power to the Christians of living peaceably, according to their own laws and institutions. A. D. 306. A. D. 313.

Constantine, in this measure, appears to have been principally influenced by motives of humanity and respect towards a persecuted people; but, after the death of his rival Licinius, reigning sole Lord of the Empire, his regard for Christianity became more apparent; and towards the latter end of his life, his conviction of its truth was more fully evinced, by the edicts which he issued for destroying the temples, and prohibiting Heathen sacrifices. A. D. 324.

This Prince employed all the resources of his genius and munificence, in addition to the authority of his laws, to abolish Paganism, and to propagate the Christian faith, in every quarter of the Empire. The Ethiopians and Indians brought him rich presents; ambassadors visited his Court, from the most distant nations; and the missionaries of the Gospel *, sheltered under the sanction of his name, were enabled to traverse in safety the most remote regions. Constantine

Euseb. Life of Constant. Letter to Sapor. Lib. IV. c. ii. p. 609.

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* The Scythæ having been conquered by Constantine, adopted, at his instigation, the Christian religion. See the Testimonies of St. Chrysostom and Theodoret de Scythis, Sauromatis and Thracis, converted in his reign; Andreas Apostolus in Thracia et Scythia prædicavit, et Sogdianis et Sacis. In the beginning of the fourth century, the Christian religion flourished in the provinces of Chorasan and Mawer-ul-nere. Antiq. Transoxana.

Fabric. Lux Evan. cap. xxi. p. 436. Sophron. a Mosheim, Eccl. Tart.

Chorasan comprehended Bactriana and Sogdiana.

divided the Empire into four prefectures, and assigned to each its respective dioceses and provinces; and though Christianity had lately met with such severe calamities, we find, that at the Council assembled at Nice, in 325, under his superintendance, to restore the peace of the church, there were present no less than 318 Bishops, few of whom were from the West. All the eastern churches were at that time subject to four Presidents, or Patriarchs, who took their names from the cities of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.

Fabric. Lux Evang. c. xiii. p. 284.

Ibid. p. 287—341.

For some time after the death of Constantine, the Christians enjoyed the ease and dignity which were a natural consequence of the Imperial favour; for the first descendants of this Prince, though engaged in continual disputes with each other, seem to have been equally zealous in maintaining the opinions of their father, and discountenancing the Pagan worship. This flourishing state of affairs was interrupted by Julian, who was probably seduced from the Christian faith by his attachment to the philosophy of Plato, and the disgust he had conceived at the disputes which agitated the church in consequence of the Arian heresy. Julian did not himself persecute the Christians, but he connived at it in his officers, "callidior cæteris, "non vi neque tormentis, sed præmiis, honoribus, blandimentis, "Christianos adire prohibens, ludos literarum illis solis qui Deos, "Deasq. venerarentur patere decernit. Militiæ cingulum non dari "nisi immolantibus ἢ "θυειν, η αποστρατευεσθαι," aut sacrificare aut militia "cedere." Thus, if the Emperor did not openly attack the Christians, he used every possible effort to discourage them; the dilapidated temples were rebuilt, and the people were invited, by the example of their Prince, to restore the ancient worship. Dissensions were in the mean time industriously sown among the Christians; the religious factions most hostile to the recent establishment of Constantine, were openly countenanced; and the hope was cherished of restoring Polytheism on the ruins of Christianity.

A. D. 361.

See the authorities quoted, Fabric. Lux Evang. c. xiv. p. 305. 339.

But the early death of Julian prevented those evils, which his mistaken zeal would in all probability have produced. It is said, that he had vowed to the gods, that if success had attended him in the Persian War, the Christian name should have been extirpated, "melius se Christianos debellaturum, porrò votiva victima, univer- "sam Christianorum gentem demonibus sistere ac subjicere, si pro- "positi compos existeret*."

Christianity prospered under the reigns of Jovian and the succeeding Emperors, and was highly patronized by Theodosius and his sons Arcadius and Honorius; so that towards the conclusion of this century, Paganism, though still cultivated in many places, and especially in the more remote provinces, and occasionally supported by the influence of courtiers and philosophers, lost every day the prospect of recovering its former splendor and authority. A. D. 363.

The chronicles of Armenia report, that Abgarus was their countryman, and that in his reign they were baptized by the hands of an apostle, whom Christ sent to that prince after his resurrection. It is probable, indeed, that the Armenians received the Christian doctrines soon after their rise in Judea; but no regular church was established before this century, when Gregory, consecrated Bishop of Armenia, converted to Christianity the King Tiridates, and all the nobles of his court. Tavernier's Persian Travels, B. II. c. iv.

The Iberians, the ancestors of the modern Georgians, followed the example of the Armenians, and abandoned their false gods; and Frumentius, appointed Bishop of Axum, the capital of Abbassia or A. D. 333.

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* In the reign of this Prince, the Jews were encouraged to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem; but before they could lay the foundations, the workmen, it is said, were interrupted and terrified in so miraculous a manner, that they were compelled to desist from their labours. Fabric. c. v. p. 124.

Appendix. Ethiopia, preached the gospel to the people, and was favourably received by the princes of the country *.

A. D. 332-334. The Sarmatians also, and Goths, having been vanquished by Constantine, were urged to adopt the creed of the conqueror. Many of the latter nation had embraced Christianity before this century, but a large body of them still retained their attachment to their ancient superstitions, until threatened by the Huns †, they solicited and were permitted by Valens to pass the Danube, and to inhabit Dacia, Thrace, and Mœsia. Of all the barbarous hordes that invaded the Empire, the Goths were the most inclined to civilization; tempted by the advantages of their new settlements, they submitted to the Roman laws, renounced their idolatry, and the Scriptures were translated into their native language by their Bishop Uphilas ‡.

A. D. 366-368.

Mosheim, Eccl. H. c. i. Part I. Socrat. Scholast. Lib. IV. c. xxxiii-iv. Gibbon R. E. c. xxxvii.

370-380. Nor was the progress of Christianity less successful in Gaul or the northern provinces of Europe: the temples and idolatrous statues were destroyed, and the barbarian Princes were taught to respect the forms of a purer faith.

A. D. 372. Mavia also, or Maurica, a Queen of the Saracens, having revolted from the Romans, stipulated, as a condition of peace, that a Bishop should be sent to instruct her subjects; and Moses, an Alexandrine Monk, or Anchorite, was consecrated to this purpose. But if the

Socrat. Scholast. Lib. IV. xxxvi.

D'Ethiopie, Liv. I. p. 72.

* La Croze thinks that the Abyssinians received their religion from the Nazarene Christians, of whom perhaps they were the descendants. The Abyssinians still receive their Abuna or Patriarch from the Patriarch of Alexandria. The Abuna is the only Bishop they have in their empire.

† The Huns are said to have been the same as the Massagetæ.

Gibbon R. E. c. xxxvii.

‡ The Gothic was a dialect of the German or Teutonic. To frame this version, Uphilas was obliged to compose a new alphabet of twenty-four letters, four of which he invented to express the peculiar sounds unknown to the Gothic language and pronunciation.

Christians enjoyed in this century a great share of peace in the provinces subject to the Empire, their fate was far otherwise in Persia. The gospel appears to have been early diffused over all parts of the East, but at what particular time it was planted in Persia cannot be exactly ascertained. At this period, Simeon was Archbishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon*, and the number of Christians under his jurisdiction must have been very considerable. Christianity was not, however, the national faith; and the tenets of the Magi, though often repressed, were still maintained in the court, and in many of the provinces.

But the Christians might have continued to enjoy the protection of the government, had not Manes and his disciples raised against the Magi the cry of persecution.

The Magians fearing, in the general partiality to this heresy, that their own power and order would be destroyed, endeavoured to instil their suspicions into the breast of Sapor, and invented against the Christians such calumnies, as they imagined might have the strongest effect upon him. The Jews joined their influence to the representations of the Magi, and Sapor was at length induced to issue orders for the death of Simeon and his adherents, unless they would comply with the Persian rite of offering adoration to the Sun. Hyde Relig. Vet. Persar. cap. iv.

All the Christians of Persia were included in this decree, and shared the fate of the Manichees, who had been the instigators of the quarrel; and by this means the Magian worship was effectually restored.

It were foreign to our purpose to continue the relation of the

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* Seleucia was on the western banks of the Tigris, about forty-five miles north of ancient Babylon, and was the capital of the Macedonian conquests in Upper Asia. Ctesiphon was on the eastern banks, at the distance of only three miles from Seleucia, and was the capital of the Parthian kings.

events which disturbed the peace and good order of the Western Church during this century. If the gospel was diffusing its light in countries remote from its origin, if, in defiance of the attacks of its
A. D. 398. enemies, we may believe with St. Chrysostom, Ὅπου δ'ἂν ἀπέλθῃς, εἰς Μαυρους,
Fabric. Lux Evang. cap. l. εἰς Βρεττανους, εἰς τὴν οἰκ ἡμεναν, εὑρησεις Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λογος," that the Gospel was heard and acknowledged in India, Mauritania, in Britain, and the whole habitable world, its doctrines had however materially suffered in the general laxity of morals both of the priests and the people. Syria and Egypt were covered with mystics, whose gloomy notions tended to cast a shade upon all the comforts of social life *. Italy, the Mediterranean Isles, and at length the whole of Europe, caught the infection, and monasteries were opened for the reception of men, who were either too indolent to provide for their own subsistence, or whose devotion to the sophisms of the schools, rendered them unfit for all the useful purposes of society.

The minds of men being thus clouded by superstition and ignorance, ceremonials insensibly occupied the place and the merit of rational piety, and many of the Pagan rites were engrafted upon the simple forms of Christianity, in order, by their shew, and parade, to confound the reason, and attract the admiration of the ignorant multitude.

Some eminent men, indeed, attempted to check the progress of an evil so repugnant to every just notion of piety†; nor were their labours altogether unsuccessful; but numbers at length prevailed over the influence of fear and shame; and while it hastened the downfall of the state, increased the ignorance and bigotry of the people.

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* Monachorum et Eremitarum notum est in Ægypto duxisse initia post medium sæculi tertii a Paulo Thebano et S. Antonio.—Fabricii Lux Evang. c. xlvi. Mosheim. Eccl. Hist.

† Among the Latin versions of the Scriptures in this century, that of St. Jerome stands highest in estimation.

Having now brought the general history of Christianity to the conclusion of the first four centuries, when it was generally diffused over the world, we shall henceforth pass over, or incidentally mention, the disputes which agitated the European Churches; and leaving the gospel to continue its progress in the North and West, confine ourselves to the occurrences more immediately connected with its fate in the East.

The Empire of Rome was in this century divided into two distinct sovereignties; Ravenna became the capital of the West; as Constantinople was of the East. But the decline of the Roman greatness did not retard the progress of the gospel*; its limits still continued to extend towards the barbarous and idolatrous hordes which pressed on the frontiers of the Empire; and amongst these the inhabitants of Libanus and Anti-Libanus, and a district of Arabia, renounced their errors, and were united to the Church. Fifth century.

In Persia, new wars between the Princes and the Greek Empire occasioned a fresh persecution of the Christians, an occasion, which, the Magi were ever ready to seize, and the justice of which they

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* About the year 413, Alaric, the King of the Goths, trans Danubium, demanded Bishops from the Arian Emperor Valens, and embraced Christianity according to his tenets. The Burgundians in Gaul, the Suevi in Spain, the Vandals in Africa, the Ostrogoths in Pannonia, and the various bands of mercenaries who raised Odoacer to the throne of Italy A. D. 476—490, all embraced the Christian faith. The Salian Franks followed the example of their king Clovis, who was converted in 496.—Fabric. Lux Evang. cap. xvii. Fabric. Lux Evang. p. 457. Mosheim Eccl. Hist. Vol. I. Part I. Gibbon R. E. c. xxxvii.

Simon Zelotes is said to have preached to the Africans. Some writers refer the origin of Christianity in Africa to the year 44. Others say that Carthage first received the gospel in 120. That Christianity must have made there a rapid progress may be collected from the number of African Bishops at the Council of Carthage A.D. 441. Huneric, the Arian, in 484, banished 334 Catholic Bishops. Justinian expelled the Vandals, who were principally Arians, from Africa in 533, and restored in some measure the Catholic worship; the Saracens invaded it in 666, and soon propagated the Koran. Fabric. L. E. c. xliii.

defended on the opinion of the partiality of the Christians for their Grecian brethren. The Jews and Pagans who had acquired power and influence in the East, fostered these prejudices, and converted them to their own designs.

Whilst the West was involved in the troubles of the Arian controversy, and the disputes raised by the Pontiffs of Rome and Byzantium about precedency, which soon after occasioned an irreconcileable schism between the two Churches, the Platonic philosophy found many disciples in the East; nor had that of Aristotle yet obtained the sovereignty in the schools, to which it was making rapid advances.

The whole Christian Church was at this time overwhelmed with spurious productions, many of them ascribed to our Saviour and the Apostles, and edited under the venerable sanction of their names. The minds of men were also kept in a continual ferment by the disputes of the Nestorians with the Catholics concerning the Virgin Mary, and the two natures or persons of Christ. The condemnation of Nestorius and his errors by the Council of Ephesus dispersed his followers through the East, who, erecting a school at Nisibis, gained a permanent footing in Persia, whence their proselytes were diffused through Egypt, Syria, Arabia, India, Tartary, and China.

Mosheim's Eccl Hist. on this century. A. D. 431.

Sixth Century. In this century, the gospel was propagated among the barbarous nations who lived on the borders of the Euxine Sea; of these, the Abasgi were the most numerous and powerful; they inhabited the country lying between these coasts and the mountains of Caucasus.

The Heruli *, who dwelt beyond the Danube on the banks of

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* Abasgi ad Pontum Euxinum missus a Justiniano Episcopus, &c. Procop. de Bello Gothico-Heruli, gentem esse Slavicam. They had passed the Danube in the reign of Anastasius, were kindly and munificently received by Justinian, and adopted the Christian faith.—Lazica, see Gibbon, R. E. chap. xlii. The Turks were first

Fabric. Lux Evang. p. 459.

A. D. 589 to 592.

the Tanais and Palus Mœotis, tribes of the Alans, Lazi, Zani, and other uncivilized nations, who, in their several migrations from Scythia or Tartary, had advanced upon the Roman frontier, received also the Christian faith: but the religion thus taught, consisted chiefly in the observance of outward ceremonies, and the profession of a few particular tenets; the moral virtues and duties of the gospel formed little or no part of the lessons of the teachers, or the practice of the converts, who still seem to have retained, in a great measure, their native vices and barbarity.

But the continual irruptions of the northern hordes, though it admitted them to the knowledge of a purer faith, proved a fatal scourge to the Christians. The Anglo-Saxons in Britain, and the Huns in their fierce inroads into Thrace, Greece, and the other provinces, had overturned every monument of taste and religious worship; and the Lombards*, and other German nations from Pannonia, falling upon Italy, divided between them the spoils which had been rescued from former invaders. But in time the persecutors became converts, Gentilism gradually wasted away, and the Christian reli-

The modern Kingdom of Hungary.

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known to the Romans in the year 545, after their conquest and expulsion of the Avari, and ambassadors passed between the two nations, in which the interests of commerce were not forgotten; an alliance was also made with them against the Persians.

* Gens Germanâ feritate ferociore. They were called in by Justinian to seize from the Gepidæ the provinces between the Danube and the Alps. The first geographers place them beyond the Elbe, in the Bishopric of Magdeburg and the Middle March of Brandenburgh. When the Lombards founded their kingdom in Lombardy, the Avari were the sovereigns of the Danubian provinces, or of what is now called Turkey in Europe.

Vell. Patere. II. 106. Tacit. de Mor. Ger. c. xl. Gibbon R. E. c. xlii-v-vi.

The Ostrogoth kingdom, which had subsisted in Italy nearly ninety years, was destroyed by Narses in the reign of Justinian. Narses met with the same success against the African Vandals. The Lombards in 568 wrested the Ostrogoth kingdom from Justin, and were masters of the whole country except Rome and Ravenna. The capital of their new kingdom was Ticinum, hod. Pavia. Autharis, the third Lombard monarch, embraced Christianity according to the Arian tenets in 587.

Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 435.

gion, though still opposed by many of the pupils of the Eclectic and Platonic Schools, had gained the ascendant over its principal enemies.

In the East, the philosophy of the modern or later Platonic School, which had filled the Church with so many heresies, had yielded to that of Aristotle. His works were translated into the Syriac and other Eastern dialects, and his opinions were received with the most implicit obedience. The followers of Nestorius, discountenanced in the West, ceased not, however, to propagate their opinions in Upper Asia; and all the converts made in that part of the world from the fifth to the twelfth centuries, were principally, or wholly, owing to their exertions.

Mosheim Eccl. Tart. Hist. p. 12.

Their Patriarch resided at Seleucia, and though the Persian princes seem generally to have been hostile to the Christians, they shewed more favour to this sect, because it was reviled and persecuted by the Greeks, with whom they waged an almost incessant war *.

A. D. 540.

It appears from the testimony of Cosmas †, an Egyptian merchant,

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* Chosroes, who was devoted to the Magian rites, seems to have been their greatest enemy, and the calamities they suffered in other parts of the Empire were light in comparison with those inflicted by him.

† Cosmas says, that at Taprobana there was a Christian Church—"ἐκ οἶδα δὲ εἰ καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ"—an ulterius etiam ignoro. In Male, Malabar, or the Pepper Coast, in Calliana, where there is a Bishop ordained in Persia; in Diosceris, or Socotora, whose inhabitants, a colony planted by the Ptolemies from Ægypt, speak Greek, priests being sent from Persia, there are many Christians. Also with the Bactri, Hunni, Persæ, other Indian nations, Persarmenians, Medes, Elamites, and all the regions of Persia, infinite Churches, Bishops, and Christians. The same in Ethiopia, Axum, and the adjacent regions. The *Homerites* in Arabia Felix; in all Arabia, Palestine, Phœnicia, Syria, from Antioch to Mesopotamia; through Scythia, Hircania, the rudest parts of the East, the North, and the South, the gospel of Christ was universally preached, and Christian Institutions abounded.

Among the Homerite Arabs were many Christians, whom the Jews and Idolaters had oppressed with tributes, until a Christian king was imposed on them by the King of Ethiopia.

Cosmas in Montfaucon, Coll. nov. P. P. Græcor. Lib. II. p. 125. and in Enseb. Comment. Psalm. Vol. II. p. 344.

Fabric. Lux Evang. cap. xlvii. p. 769. v. 91. Renaudot & n. G. G. p. 87. Remarks Mahom. Trav.

Sale's Koran, Vol. I. p. 14. 18. 29. 43. Fabric. L. E. p. 693.

named, from his many voyages to India, Indicopleustes, and who was himself afterwards the founder and patron of a new sect, that Nestorian churches abounded in the East *, not only in Persia, Armenia, Arabia, and Syria, but in Ceylon, and many other parts of India; and that the functions of religion were performed by priests, who had received ordination from the Catholicos, or Primate of Seleucia†, and who continued subject to his jurisdiction.

Robertson's India, Sect. II. p. 81. 4to.

CHAP. X.

PROGRESS OF THE KORAN FROM THE BIRTH OF MAHOMED TO THE VICTORIES OF ZENGHIS KHAN AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

Seventh Century. A. D. 636. De Pauw Egypt and Chin. Barrow's China, p. 440. Fabric. Lux Evang. cap. xxxix.

INDUCED by the favourable reception which their opinions had met with in Syria, Persia, and India, the Nestorians in this century seem to have extended their labours to China. Some writers are inclined to ascribe a very remote origin to the Christian faith in this country; but, until this period, no authentic accounts have been handed down of its success. Nor was its prosperity of long continuance. It is probable, that the Pagan priests, jealous of their influence, excited against them the Emperors and the people; and, after having been

* In Calicut, the Christians had a regular Bishop, with an establishment of Priests and Deacons, whence the subordinate churches were supplied.

† In the days of Justinian, the title of Catholicos was given to those Prelates who were superior in dignity to Metropolitans, and who, having authority over several of them, might consecrate priests, &c. without any reference to the Patriarch of Antioch.

Renaudot's Inquiry concerning the Christian Religion in China, p. 88.

alternately persecuted and protected, they were at length finally banished into the recesses of Tartary *.

But neither the Eastern nor the Western Churches seem in this century to have suffered materially from their Pagan enemies; a new one was, however, arising in Arabia, where the seeds of that revolution were preparing, which, when brought to maturity, gave a new aspect to the world.

A. D. 612. Mahomed at this period began his mission: his professed object was to destroy Polytheism; extraordinary success excited new hopes, and from an enthusiast, he became a conqueror. The gross ignorance and animosities of the Christians of all ranks had, at this time, filled the Church with vices of the most disgusting character. The real precepts of Christianity being little understood, and seldom inculcated, the people naturally judged of the religion by the habits of its professors, and were therefore attached to it by very slender ties. The nations of the East and West which professed the Christian faith, had mingled the worship of angels and saints with that of the Supreme Being, and had adorned their churches with pictures and statues. The Moslems stood forth as the champions and assertors of the Divine Unity, and regarded Christians of every denomination with abhorrence as idolaters.

A. D. 622. After the death of Mahomed, many of the Christian Sectaries, from hatred of the Greeks †, supported the arms of his followers, and promoted the introduction of the Koran into provinces, which had

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Ancient Relations, xxviii. 55 of 2d account. Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. p. 11 Appendix. Renaudot's Inquiry concerning the Christian Religion in China, p. 114.

* Renaudot contends, that it is only from this century that any certain traces of the gospel can be found in China, and to this period the curiously inscribed stone found in 780, in Xenzi, refers its introduction; others say that St. Thomas preached to the Seres.

† Mahomed himself had recommended the Christian Sectaries to his captains, and had granted them protections, which were confirmed by the third Caliph Omar, and preserved and continued under Othman and Ali. Many Nestorians were employed in the court of Bagdad by Almamoum, in the translations ordered by that Prince from the best Greek authors into Arabic; they were also celebrated for their medical skill.

formerly professed the Christian faith. Under the three first successors of the Prophet, Abubeker, Omar, and Othman, Syria, Persia *, and Egypt, were overrun; and, under the different names of Arabs, Saracens, Moors, Tartars, and Turks, the Koran was spread not only through Media, Chaldæa, India, and Tartary, but through the principal islands of the East. The Coptic Christians of Alexandria received the Saracens as their deliverers; and Benjamin, the Jacobite, who, in the troubles of his country, had retired from persecution into Lower Egypt, having been reinstated in his functions, and fixed in the episcopal residence by Amru †, the Saracen General, the heretical Christians found a precarious security under the first dominion of the Caliphate.

Syria, A. D. 632 to 639. Egypt, 639. Persia, 641.

A. D. 641.

La Croze Hist d'Ethiopie, p. 68.

The principal cause of schism in this century sprung from the opinions of the Monothelites, who, having been condemned as heretics, took shelter in the mountains of Libanus and Anti-Libanus, where the rude inhabitants, adopting their creed, were called from their Bishop, Maronites ‡; a name which they still retain. This sect

A. D. 676.

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* The race of Persian Kings became extinct by the flight and subsequent death of Yezdeaird, A. D. 652, in the 32d year of the Hegeira. He was the last Prince of the Sassanian dynasty.

Ouseley, Epit. A. H. Persia. Gibbon, R. E. chap. li.

† Amru, by the orders of the Caliph Omar, destroyed the Alexandrian Library.

‡ The origin of this people is variously accounted for. It is said, that in 676 they were refugees from persecution, settled there under John the Maronite, their teacher and apostle; and that they soon became so powerful, as to be able to resist the progress of the Arabians, and to compel the Caliph Moawiyah to request of the Greeks a truce for thirty years. Others have derived them from the Franks, who sheltered themselves in these wilds, after the destruction of their power in Palestine. It is probable that they are a mixed race, sprung from the Greeks of the Lower Empire, the Saracens, and the ancient inhabitants of Syria. They are the Druses and Maronites of modern times, and are still distinguished by their inveterate hatred to the Turks.

Ockley's H. Saracens.

Volney gives a different account of these Druses, and calls them Mahomedan Sectaries rather than Christians. The Maronites, their neighbours, have long been united to the Romish Church, but their faith is absurdly superstitious. Convents abound in the country; and Missionaries and Jesuits have been long settled there, especially

Volney's Syria, Vol. II. S. ii. iii. See Hyde. Rel. Vet. Persar. Appendix I. And Knolles's Hist. Turks, 962.

arose in consequence of the desire of the Emperor Heraclius to bring back the Nestorians to the bosom of the Church: and during the Persian War a decree had been issued by him for that purpose.

A. D. 630.

Eighth Century.

Whilst the Mahomedan arms were triumphant in the flourishing provinces of Hither Asia and India, and extending their dominion and ravages over Africa *, Spain, and the Mediterranean Isles, the Nestorians of Chaldæa were successfully promulgating the gospel among the rude nations of Scythia, (Tartary,) within the limits of Imaüs, or that great chain of mountains which separates India from the Afghan provinces.

A. D from 777 to 820.

Mosheim, Eccl. Tartar. p. 13.

In 778, and in the following years, the Gelæ, the Dailamitæ, Tabrestani, and other hordes, who inhabited the shores of the Hyrcanian or Caspian Sea; the people of *Bactria*, *Margiana*, *and Sogdiana*; and the countries which are now comprehended under the name of Turkestan and Mongul, the Usbek or Zagatay, Kalmuc and Nogaian Tartary, received missionaries from the Nestorian Churches, and were in numbers converted to Christianity.

Saca and Massagetæ. Mosheim, Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 43.

The Eastern Empire was falling into ruins; its fairest provinces had been ravaged by the Saracens; and the public distress was aggravated by civil and religious animosities; when a new and fiercer enemy,

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at Gezir, Bairout, and Tripoli. Like the Copts, the Maronites, who are taught to read and write, occupy the places of interpreters, writers, and intendants, with the Druzes their allies.

* The first attempt at the conquest of Africa was made under the reign of Othman, 647, and attended with inconsiderable success; from 663 to 689 the enterprise was resumed, and the Greeks were every where defeated. In 692, Carthage was stormed, and the Greeks expelled the province; and though the Moors still made a feeble resistance, they were at length either subdued, or reconciled to the Koran; and in 709, the coast from Ægypt to the verge of the Atlantic acknowledged the Saracen yoke. From Ceuta or Tangier, (Tingi), the ancient capital of Mauritania Tingitana, they crossed over to Gibraltar; and on the banks of the Guadalquivir, or Bœtis, defeated the Gothic King, and marched through the Sierra Morena to Toledo.

Gibbon, R. E. c. li.

the Turks, a tribe of Tartars, bursting from the wilds about Mount Caucasus, overspread Colchis, Iberia, and Albania, rushed from thence into Armenia, and having defeated the Saracens, turned their victorious arms against the Greeks. To balance these successes, the brilliant victories of Charles Martel and Charlemagne over the Saracens in Europe, had rendered their names a terror to the Mahomedans. The Saxons, Huns, and other idolaters, had also been compelled, after repeated defeats, to profess Christianity rather than become slaves, and the power of the Franks was favourably mentioned at the court of the Caliph. Appendix.

Charlemagne greatly interested himself in favour of the Christians in Egypt, Syria, and Africa, and sent ambassadors to many of the Eastern Princes, "maximè ut Christianis sub eis degentibus esset "relevatio." Nor was he less zealous in his attempts at the restoration of learning. Schools and universities were munificently founded for the instruction of youth; although the mode of instruction, and the sciences taught, were little calculated to promote either the cause of letters, or of virtue. Fabric. Lux Evang.

The state of Christianity was at this time no less disgraced by the ignorance of the Eastern, than the idle cavils of the Western Church. The little learning and genius which remained to the Greeks were confined to the works of Aristotle; for the opinions of the Platonists having lost all credit in the schools, were banished to the cells of the monks; and sophistry passing current for science, threatened, by the perversion of the public judgment, the extinction of all rational piety.

The influence which the Missionaries and the Church had acquired over the barbarous nations converted to Christianity, transferred by an easy change the power formerly possessed by their Priests and Druids to the Christian Bishop; and the civil and military, were soon added to his ecclesiastical dignities. The ignorance of the

age favoured the delusion; for the great and opulent were taught, that the endowment of an abbey, or a donation to the church, were the most acceptable duties of a Christian, and a sufficient atonement for the errors of the most profligate life. A new and more compendious method of atoning for sin being thus introduced, its effects were soon perceived upon the public morals. From humble and dependent pastors, the bishops became temporal princes; hence the origin of the wars which followed concerning investitures, and the interference of the clerical with the civil authorities.

Taught to consider the Roman Pontiff as the vicar of Christ, the people looked up to him with more than human regard; the thunders of his anger rolled no longer in vain over the heads of his enemies*; and the victories of Pepin and Charlemagne over the Lombards increased his dominion by a large portion of territory, that had formerly belonged to the Western Empire. The Greek Emperors had in vain attempted to check the progress of these innovations, when a new dispute arising between the Greek † and Latin Churches

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* Pepin, the Mayor of the Palace, was enabled by a Papal decree to dethrone Childeric III.

† They who worshipped images were called Iconolatræ, Iconoduli; those who abhorred such practices were called Iconoclastæ. A civil war raged in consequence of these disputes, not only in the islands of the Archipelago and a part of Asia, but afterwards in Italy itself. Some of the Latins, the Britons, Germans, and Gauls, endeavoured to steer a middle course. They preserved the images in their churches, but would pay them no religious worship.

Mosheim, Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 94, quoted from Spelman. Vide Gibbon's R. E.

It was this attachment to images, which, instigated by the suggestions of the priests and monks, created the schism between the Greek and the Latin Churches, and tore the remaining provinces of Italy from the Greek Empire. Pilgrimages now obtained a higher degree of religious merit; and the future happiness of men was made to depend, not upon the practice of the moral virtues, but on duties of human ordination; since a passport to heaven could only be obtained at the intercession of priests and saints, and by the performance of the rites they had prescribed.

concerning the worship of images, all the provinces and churches of the Eastern Empire withdrew themselves from the Roman jurisdiction.

The princes of the house of Charlemagne endeavoured during this century, with infinite toil and bloodshed *, to propagate the gospel among the barbarous nations of Europe. The Greek Church had also received into its bosom many of the tribes which bordered on its frontier. Amongst these were the Russians, who inhabited the Ukraine †. They had lately fitted out a large fleet from Kiovia, and sailing to Constantinople, had spread the utmost terror through the empire. The promises and presents of the Emperors arrested, however, their victorious progress, and induced them to embrace the gospel; but the doctrines inculcated by their teachers, Ninth century.

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* Avari qui et Hunni victi a Carolo Magno 805: post A. D. 805, Bohemi ac Moravi variis præliis victi sunt a Carolo Magno, ejusq. filio Ludovico Pio, et ab Henrico III. Imperatore, unde ad illos quoque populos lux Evangelii feliciter non modò propagata, sed et apud eos conservata fuit. Fabric. Lux Evang. cap. xxi. p. 449.

The Avars flying from the Turks, 558, arrived at the foot of Mount Caucasus, in the country of the Alani and Circassians. They were permitted to pass the Tanais and Borysthenes, when they advanced into the heart of Poland and Germany, and fixed themselves in the Danubian provinces, or Gepidia, territories, which the Goths had abandoned, where the alliance of their King or Chagan was courted by the Greek Emperors. In the following century, the Hungarians and Transylvanians were known to the Greeks by the name of Turks: they were of Fennic origin. Mosheim, E. H. Vol. II. p. 184. Gibbon, R. F. c. lv.

† The wild people who dwelt or wandered in the plains of Russia, Lithuania, and Poland, might be reduced, in the age of Justinian, under the two great families of the Bulgarians and Sclavonians. Those of the former nation, who touched the Euxine Sea and the Mœotis, derived from the Huns their name or descent. The evidence of language attests the descent of the Bulgarians from the original stock of the Sclavonian, or more properly Slavonian race; and the kindred bands of Servians, Bosnians, Rascians, Crontians, Wallachians, &c. followed the standard or example of the leading tribe. The first King of Bulgaria, in its present extent, was in 640, and their empire continued until 1017, when they were ruled by a lieutenant of the Greek Empire. Ibid. c. lii. p. 543.

were not distinguished for greater purity than those of the former century. It remained for Wlodomir, the Duke of Russia and
A. D. 967. Muscovy, to complete this laudable work. Wlodomir, in 967, married Anna, the sister of the Greek Emperor Basilius II. and having been baptized by her persuasion, his countrymen were easily
A. D. 980. prevailed upon to follow his example*.

Fabric. Lux Evang. Cretz, A.D.823. Sicily, A.D.827. Gibbon, R. E. c. li.

The Saracens had now become masters of almost all the provinces of Asia, and had carried their conquests to the extremities of India. The shores and islands of the Mediterranean Sea were exposed to the greatest cruelties, from their incessant depredations, and many Christians were compelled to purchase a temporary security by the renunciation of their faith.

The Saracens in Spain were, however, more tolerant than their eastern countrymen, and their Christian subjects enjoyed some privileges under their dominion.

The contests between the Greek and the Latin churches kept alive, for a short time, some spirit of emulation; but it was ill calculated for the improvement of the public morals. Photius, and other eminent men, flourished in this age; but their individual efforts could not rescue the people from the sloth and ignorance into which they were plunged.

In this decay of Christian learning and piety, the Arabian caliphs†, having successfully promulged the Koran through two portions of the globe, turned their attention to the arts of peace. The

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Tooke's Life of Catherine II. Gibbon, R. E. c. lv.

* Andrew, the brother of Simon Peter, is said to have first preached to the Russians. He passed from Greece and Thrace to the mouths of the Borysthenes, and thence to Kioff. Wlodomir and Anna are revered as saints at this city.

† Almamoun was then Caliph of Bagdad and Egypt: he began to reign about the time of Charlemagne's death. Both Charlemagne and Alfred had founded many schools and universities, but their benefit was in a great measure defeated by the ignorance of the teachers.

warm genius of their countrymen was awakened by the prospect of splendid rewards; schools were opened at Bagdad, Cufa, and Bussora; the best Grecian works were translated into the Arabic language, and the liberal arts and sciences were cultivated with a zeal and munificence, which reflected the highest honour on their patrons. Nor was this laudable attempt to revive the arts confined to the precincts of the Arabian Court; it was communicated to their countrymen in Syria, Africa, Spain, and Italy; and the Saracens may justly lay claim to the honour of having been the restorers of learning, both in Europe and Asia. Gibbon, R. E. chap. lii.

The Nestorians, in Chaldæa, spread, in this age, the knowledge of the Gospel beyond the mountains of Imaus, into Tartary; and their missionaries were successful among a powerful nation of the Turks or Tartars of Karit, who bordered on Kathay on the northern part of China. The Prince or Khan of this country is reported, at his baptism, to have received the name of Prester John; and by that name he is distinguished in the days of Zenghis: his story is, however, involved in great obscurity, though we have reason to believe that a considerable part of Tartary, or Asiatic Scythia, was at this time under the spiritual jurisdiction of Nestorian bishops. Tenth century. Mosheimii Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 179. Mosheimii Ecc. Tart. c. ii.

The testimony of the two Mahomedan travellers concurs with the evidence of the Christian writers, that the labours of the Nestorians had been attended with such success in the 9th and 10th centuries, as to have gained a number of converts both in India and China. Nor were the zeal or the enterprise of the Mahomedans* less ardent in the Renaudot, Ancient Relations.

* The Mahomedans connected their commerce with the advancement of the Koran: the settlements they made in the East introduced it to the knowledge of princes, who had before only very imperfect notices of any religion. On parts of the Malabar Coast, and at Malacca, they were favourably received. The Kings of Ternate and of Tidor, together with other eastern Princes, adopted their creed; and when the

cause of their Prophet. The rapid conquests and extensive empire of the Caliphs had given a high rank to the Mahomedan name in the East; the Arabian language was spoken in all the principal sea-ports; the Koran was every where respected; and in the City of Canton the proselytes were said to have been so numerous, that the Chinese Emperor permitted them to have a Cadi, or Judge of their own faith, who presided in all the functions of religion, and decided all controversies* among his countrymen by the Mahomedan laws.

It was in this age that the first plan of a holy war, "for the reco-"very of Palestine," attracted the attention of the European Princes. The Saracen power, after a brilliant career, had yielded to the Turkish arms, and the Ottoman Empire was rising into glory upon the ruins of the Caliphat.

Gibbon, R. E. c. lvii.

Feeble efforts had indeed been made by some of the Greek Princes to restore the culture of letters; but, amidst the vicissitudes and distractions of the Empire, even princely patronage could not rescue the arts and sciences from their degradation.

The Arabians in Europe continued, during this century, to preserve that eminence, of which the Caliphs had laid the foundation. In their seminaries at Seville and Cordova, letters and science were encouraged; and not only in Spain, but in Italy, their Doctors had founded schools, which were resorted to by all who had any taste for

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Moguls ruled over Hindoostan, Cambaya, Guzzurat, and many other kingdoms, which had hitherto been jealous of the Mahomedan influence, appear to have produced some proselytes to the Koran.

Ancient Relat. 2 M.T.

* Renaudot, however, asserts, that the Moslems never attempted to spread the Koran in China, either having found it impossible to win over the people, or being deterred by the laws, which made it penal. Who then were these converts? Were they merchants from other countries? He says, that there are many now in China.

the great works of antiquity, or any spirit of inquiry above the rude habits of the times. The few instances of genius which are to be discovered in the labours of the learned of this period, cannot, however, rescue it from the character which has been affixed to it of the *iron age*. The Latin church more especially was in the most deplorable state of ignorance and barbarism: some schools* had been established for the instruction of youth, but the system of education was equally disgraceful to the pupils and the teachers; and the interests of superstition were more consulted than those of reason and virtue. The licentiousness of the Roman Pontiffs exceeded, if it is possible, the vices of the Greek Patriarchs. With hands stained with blood and debaucheries, they dared to call themselves the vicegerents of Christ upon earth; and Rome became the seat of riot and assassination. The election to the most important offices in the church was publicly sold, and the Bishops and Abbots, imitating the example of the Pontiffs, by temporal and fictitious titles, assumed a civil, as well as an ecclesiastical power, and rivalled in splendour and military parade, the greatest warriors of the age. But nothing, perhaps, added so much to the power of the church as the opinion, which then generally prevailed, of the immediate approach of the day of judgment. The cities were in consequence deserted; private connections were forgotten in religious benefactions; and numbers hastened to Palestine, where they expected to see Christ coming in glory to reward them for such meritorious services.

The Nestorians still continued, with the same zeal and diligence, to propagate the Gospel among those nations of the East, which had not yet received it; and numbers were in consequence gained

Eleventh century.

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* In 998, Sylvester II. who had been educated under the Doctors of Seville and Cordova, made a faint attempt to introduce letters and science once more into Italy.

over to its profession. Under the Patriarch of Chaldæa, Metropolitan Prelates, with many inferior Bishops, were established in the provinces of Cashgar, Nuacheta, Genda, and Tangut*; "from "which we may conclude, that in this and the following century "there were many Christians in those countries, which are at present "overrun with Mahomedanism and idolatry."

Mosheim, Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 229.

The Turks or Turcomans of Samarcand and Kharasm, who had at first been called in by the Persians, as auxiliaries, against the Saracens, found means, on the decline of the Caliphate, when the Arabians were grown enervated by luxury, to obtain possession of the throne; and Togrul Beg and his followers embraced the religion of Mahomed. But the Empire of Persia was not sufficient to satisfy his ambition. Armenia and Georgia fell before his victorious arms, and Cappadocia and Phrygia were ravaged by his forces. From 1074 to 1084, his descendants, the Seljukian Turks, made continual inroads into the Greek Empire. The greater part of Asia Minor, or Anatolia, yielded to their power, and a new kingdom, *Roum*, was formed, at the distance of 100 miles from Constantinople, though the principal residence of the Sultan (Solyman) was at Nice, in Bithynia. But though hostile to each other, in this contest for empire, both Turks and Saracens were cordially united in their persecution of the Christians, and equally insulted the Pilgrims who visited the Holy Shrine at Jerusalem. These insults, and the reports of the cruelties† exercised upon the

A. D. 1038 to 1063.

Mosheim, Eccl. Tart. p. 22.

* Tangut and Tenduch are contiguous to China, and formed the ancient kingdom of the Princes, known by the name of Prester John. In some part of these countries, their descendants are still said to reside.

For a description of Cashgar, see Bernier's Voyage to Cashmire, and Rennel, Mem. Map Hindoost.

† Under some of the Fatemite Caliphs, the commerce with the Christians was encouraged; the Emirs of Palestine not being too remote from the power and justice of the throne. Jerusalem was taken by the Turks, under the Seljukian Princes, in 1076, and the Christians were then exposed to the greatest indignities.

Asiatic Christians, inflamed also by the suggestions of the Roman Pontiffs, who were anxious to extend their empire in Asia, sanctioned the pretext of a holy war, and prepared the public mind for those romantic expeditions, which precipitated the warriors of Europe upon the shores of Palestine. The Council at Placentia, animated by the A.D. 1095. zeal of Peter the Hermit, and the harangues of Urban II. proclaimed the first solemn crusade against the Saracens, and engaged the Christian chieftains in the recovery of the Holy Land.

But the devotion of the brave but ignorant crusaders served only to increase the power of the Popes, and the revenues of the church: ecclesiastical discipline relaxed as superstition acquired fresh force; and the calendar of Rome was adorned with the titles of new Saints of Greek or Syrian origin.

Though the Greek Empire was rent asunder by intestine divisions, and kept in continual alarm by the increasing power of the Turks, the Greeks seem not to have benefited by experience; for the schism between them and the Latin churches occasioned new tumults, and the truth of opinions which neither party could amicably adjust, was referred to the decision of the sword.

It had long been a great object of Papal ambition, to introduce into all the western churches the Romish ritual; judging perhaps that a state of ignorance was most favourable to its designs, the performing the service in the Latin tongue was considered as an effectual check to all improvement. This practice had hitherto met with considerable opposition; but the Pontiffs were at length victorious, and their ritual was adopted. Either the same motive, or a veneration for ancient customs, had produced similar effects in the East. "The Egyptian Mosheim, Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 343. "Christians performed their religious services in the language of the "ancient Copts; the Jacobites and Nestorians in the Syriac; and "the Abyssinians in the old Ethiopic: though all these languages "had long since been obsolete, and were thereby become absolutely "unintelligible to the multitude."

Twelfth century.

Towards the conclusion of this century, the kingdom of Prester John, and his son and successor David, of whose power and importance the Nestorians have given such a romantic description, was swallowed up in the empire of Zenghis, the Emperor of the Tartars; and the Christian Prince was deprived both of his crown and life.

A. D. 1188 to 1202.

Fabric. Lux Evan. cap. xli.

Zenghis had not, however, any personal hostility to the Christians; for he appears to have treated them in general with mildness and humanity: but the severest weight of his vengeance was directed against the Turks and Saracens.

In the meantime, the dangers which threatened the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem warmly excited the interest of Europe; but it required a considerable degree of persuasion to rouse again that spirit of enthusiasm, which had distinguished the former crusade; and the jealousies of the combined Princes, even when the expedition was advanced, added to their excesses and injustice, prevented all the good effects that might have been derived, from the union of zeal and courage, displayed by the troops and their commanders.

Saladin, the Sultaun of Syria and Egypt, took advantage of these errors; and the fatal battle of Tiberias, in 1187, reduced the Christians to the lowest extremity.

The skill and conduct of Frederic I. of Germany, surnamed Barbarossa, and the heroic valour of our Richard Cœur de Lion, restored the credit of the Franks in the third crusade; but the same divisions among the chieftains, which had disgraced the former wars, checked the progress of Richard; and Palestine was at length deserted, without the acquisition of any solid advantage to the Christian cause.

But if the combined forces of the European powers could no longer be directed to the recovery of Syria, from the hands of the Saracen, the martial spirit, and the peculiar circumstances of the times gave birth to many military orders, who, under the name of

Knights Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John the Baptist at Jerusalem, Knights Templars, or of the Temple, and Teutonic Knights, undertook to defend the Pilgrims, who frequented the Holy Land, and vowed perpetual hostility against the Infidels. Their zeal was, however, productive of little benefit, for these continual wars and inveterate hostilities served only the more to embitter the Saracens against the Christians in their power, and to retard all advances towards intercourse and reconciliation. A.D. 1118. 1118.—1190.

Though the victories of Zenghis Khan, and his immediate successors, had carried the Mogul arms from Tartary into China, India, Persia, Arabia, and Syria, and subjected the greater part of these rich and populous countries to their Empire, it does not appear, that the Christians were persecuted under their dominion, or that the profession of their religion was any obstacle to public employment. Thirteenth century.

Zenghis died in 1226, as he was preparing to make a second irruption into China. Ugadài, his son, and successor in the Empire, though he did not profess Christianity, was no enemy to its doctrines; and history informs us, that the Nestorians flourished under his government, and had many churches in Tartary. Zagatai, another of the sons of Zenghis, who received as his portion the province of Transoxiana, or Mawer-ul-nere, made a public profession of the Gospel in his capital of Samarcand. Mosheim, Eccl. Tart. Hist. p. 40.

The former successes of the Moguls served only to urge them to new conquests, and the irruption of the Gilded Horde into Russia, under the conduct of Bathi* Sain, the grandson of Zenghis, rendered the Grand Dukes for a time tributary to their power. In A.D. 1237. Gibbon, R. E. c. lxv.

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* Bathi had for his share, at the death of Zenghis, that vast extent of country lying above the Caspian Sea. He overran Russia, Moravia, Poland, and Hungary, and was preparing to march against Constantinople, when death stopped the course of his victories and ambitious projects. Moscow and Wlodomir were taken by his successors 1382.

1241 they laid waste Hungary, Poland, and Silesia; whilst their
A.D. 1237. countrymen, under Koublai Khan, the cousin of Bathi Sain, effected the conquest of China.

In consequence of the persecutions raised by the Bonzes, and disciples of Laokium, against the Nestorians, who had settled or been converted in China, in the 7th century, and in earlier periods, not one Christian is said to have remained there at the period of the Mogul conquest.

Koublai was an encourager of science, and was assisted in improving the astronomical calculations of the Chinese, by Arabian and Christian astronomers. Some Christian families were fixed by him in the city of Pekin; and many Greeks, who had followed the Mogul armies, were retained in his service, as men, whose attainments were so much superior, to those of his Tartar and Chinese subjects. Pekin* was at the same time raised into an Archbishopric by the Patriarch of Bagdad, and the Roman Pontiff; embassies and missions, passed into Tartary; and the Mogul sovereigns of China afforded their protection to every stranger, whose talents might be useful to the State.

The incursion of the Tartars into the West, enabled the nations of Europe to renew the intercourse with Upper Asia, which had so long been interrupted by the Saracens and Turks; for from the period when the Mahomedans became masters of Egypt, no Christian had been permitted to pass through their territories to the East. In consequence of this prohibition, the direct communication of Europe with India had entirely ceased; nor was it re-opened until the year 1160, when Benjamin, the Jew of Tudela, first ventured
A.D. 1269. into the interior of Asia. Benjamin was successfully followed by Marco-Polo, the Venetian, who, protected by the liberality of

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* Pekin was built by Koublai.

Koublai Khan, travelled over regions hitherto inaccessible to Europeans, and disclosed to his countrymen the state of India, and the manners of the Tartar court.

Kayuk Khan, the grandson of Zenghis, was at the head of the Tartar Empire, when an embassy came from the Roman Pontiff, requiring him to embrace the Christian faith, and to desist from desolating the earth by his arms. Other embassies passed between the Tartar Princes and the Papal See, which favoured the success of the Gospel: many zealous Monks ventured also into Tartary; churches were erected in different parts of that country, and of China; and the New Testament and the Psalms were translated into the Tartarian language.

Robertson's America, Vol. I. p. 46. Fabric. Lux Evang. c. xli. p. 687. Mosheim, Eccl. Tart. Hist. p. 43 to 70.

New Crusades.

The Popes having found that the expeditions to Palestine were favourable to the advancement of their own power, sounded again the trumpet for a holy war; but although tempted by their solicitations to renew the contest, the first achievement of the Christian powers was against their Grecian allies. Constantinople, unprepared for resistance, was taken by storm; and during a period of 57 years, a dynasty of Latin Princes sat upon the throne of the eastern Empire. The effects of the crusade of 1217 produced no lasting benefits to Europe. Damietta alone was taken from the Saracens*, but was soon afterwards surrendered to its former masters.

A. D. 1203.

A. D. 1217.

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* Dreading the approach of Zenghis Khan, the Turks, or at least a large body of that horde, which had hitherto remained to the eastward of the Caspian Sea, and went by the name of Ogoujians, penetrated, under Solyman (1218-1220) into Iconium, in Cilicia, mod. Caramania, where their power declined, till the reign of Othman, or *Osman*, his grandson; hence the name Osmanlis, Ottomans. Osman assumed the title of Sultaun, and extended his dominion over a great part of Asia Minor. His conquests were followed up by his warlike successors, and Prusa, in Bithynia, became the capital of the Empire, until the throne of Constantinople was overturned by his descendants in 1453.

A. D. 1300.

Volney's Syria, Vol. I. p. 90-94.

A. D. 1223—1250. Of the same nature were the several crusades that followed from the year 1223 to the defeat of St. Lewis, in 1250, and the subsequent expedition of this mistaken Prince into Africa, in 1270. Partial successes against the Saracens could not support the declining cause of Christianity in the East, which suffered as much from the dissensions of the leaders, and the profligate conduct of the Popes, as from the sword of the Mahomedans; and after a variety of fortune, the power of the Franks in Palestine was finally overthrown in Hod. Aere. 1291, on the capture of Ptolemáis.

CHAP. XI.

CONQUESTS OF TAMERLANE FATAL TO CHRISTIANITY IN THE EAST; DISCOVERY OF AMERICA, AND THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE; REFORMATION IN EUROPE; PRESENT STATE OF THE EASTERN CHRISTIANS.

Fourteenth century. The misfortunes which the European Princes had successively experienced in their eastern expeditions, had now rendered them deaf to the exhortations and promises of the Roman See for the renewal of the Holy War; and the Mahomedans, who, if they had retaliated the injuries they had received from the Franks, might have extirpated the Christian name in the East, enjoyed without further molestation, the hard-earned sovereignty of Palestine.

But though the Franks seemed to have relinquished the hope

of prosecuting their conquests in Syria, the cause of the Gospel was not neglected by the Nestorians, and the various Monks who had gone from Europe into the East. Christian churches were founded in many parts of China and Tartary; and an embassy was sent from the Tartar Khan to Avignon, under the Popedom of Benedict the Twelfth*. Whilst the Princes of the family of Zenghis sat upon the throne of China, both Latins and Nestorians made a public profession of their faith, and were allowed to diffuse it through all the northern provinces of Asia. In other parts of the East, subject to the Tartar dominion, the Gospel had been received with equal favour. The Dominicans† and Franciscans speak of their success in the strongest terms; but their testimony is to be admitted with the greatest caution‡. A.D. 1307. A.D. 1338.

But whatever may have been the former progress of the Gospel in the East, it was destined to suffer, in this century, the greatest evils from its former patrons. Many of the Turkish or Tartar tribes§, who had embraced or tolerated Christianity, had been introduced, by their successes in Hither Asia, to a knowledge of the Koran; and

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* John, an Apulian Monk of Monte Corvino, was made Archbishop of Cambalu, or Pekin, by Clement V. Previously to this period, he is said to have made great progress in the conversion of the Tartars in China and Chatay, and the districts bordering upon the Chinese Empire. Vide his Letters in Moshem, Eccl. Tartar. n. xliv. and p. 94, sect. xxxi. Hod. *Kotes.* Rennel, M. M. Hindostan, 97.

† The Inquisition owed its form to Dominic, a Spanish Priest, the founder of the order of Dominicans. This order, and that of the Franciscans, were mendicants, and were most conspicuous for their zeal and austerities. They were the great supporters of the Papal usurpation, and the principal agents of the Inquisition.

‡ Horum relatione nemo sapiens atq. prudens nisi cautè et circumspectè fidem habebit. Moshem, Ecc. Tart. Hist. p. 105.

§ In 1320 a Bishop was settled at Caffa, in the Crimæa, by the Roman Pontiff, and many splendid reports are given of his influence over the Khan of the Krim Tartars. Moshem, Eccl. Tart. p. 106.

Timur Beg, or Tamerlane, the lineal successor of Zenghis, having adopted it, not only employed all his influence against the Christians, but doomed them either to death or slavery, if they would not renounce their faith. The greater part of Asia soon submitted to his arms, and many of the Christian converts, either terrified by his threats, or allured by his invitations, yielded to the law of the conqueror. Thus, wherever the Mogul arms prevailed, Christianity lost ground. The confusion of the times was also increased by the wars between the Tartars and Chinese; for, in 1369, the last Prince of the House of Zenghis, having been driven from the throne of China, all foreigners were excluded from the country, and the severest punishments were enacted against the professors of the Gospel. A few Nestorians were however said to have resided there so late as the 16th century; but the fact rests upon very questionable evidence.

Mosheim, Eccl. Tart. p. 119.

Throughout the more eastern parts of Asiatic Tartary, the Christian religion had yielded to the influence of the Koran. China alone sheltered a few solitary Christians, who acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Chaldæan Patriarch. Its fate was equally deplorable in Hither Asia, where, the progress of the Turkish arms exposed its Professors to insult and persecution.

Fifteenth century.

Towards the middle of this century, Constantinople, long assailed both by foreign and domestic enemies*, yielded to the arms of

A. D. 1453.

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* When Constantinople fell under the Latin yoke, 1204, Greece, in the division of the Empire, was apportioned among some of the Frank adventurers, who, under the titles of Dukes and Counts, maintained with each other an incessant war. Under Amurath I. A. D. 1360-1389, the Province of Romania, or Thrace, from the Hellespont to the Hæmus, was subdued, and the Sclavonian nations between the Danube and the Adriatic, the Bulgarians, Servians, Bosnians, Albanians, were worsted, in many battles. Under Bajazet I. the Servians and Bulgarians were wholly subdued, 1403. Whatever also adhered to the Greek Empire in Thrace, Macedonia and

Gibbon, R. E. Vol. VI. Knolles's Hist. Turks, passim.

Mahomet II. The practice and profession of their religion was still, however, allowed to the vanquished Greeks: but the merit of this indulgence was soon lost in severe and tyrannical restrictions; and though the outward form of their faith was neither changed nor destroyed, its spirit had altogether sunk into parade and ceremony.

But the declension of Christianity in the old, was in some measure counterbalanced by its introduction into the new world. The progress of discovery had led the Portuguese along the Coast of Africa, and the Atlantic, to the Azores, or Cassiterides of the Ancients, A.D. 1449. whose inhabitants were, with little difficulty, persuaded to embrace the Christian faith. The Africans seemed also no less willing to renounce their errors, and the King of Congo and his son were bap- A.D. 1489. tized: the former, however, soon apostatized, but the latter, when Fabric. Lux Evang. he came to the crown, afforded the Christians the most ample pro- A.D. 1492. tection—" Christianus Christianos protexit."

In the mean time, the skill and intrepidity of Columbus, Vesputius, and other navigators, were exerted, in laying open to the I. of Darien, knowledge of Europe, the Islands, and Continent of America; and the zeal of conversion united with the spirit of conquest and discovery. A. D. 1492 to 1498. 1502.

The Bull of Alexander VI. which divided the newly-discovered regions between the Spanish and Portuguese Princes, was granted on the condition of promulgating the Gospel among the unenlightened natives; and Father Boyle, a respectable Catalonian Monk, assisted A.D. 1493

Thessaly acknowledged a Turkish master; and the passes of Thermopylæ being betrayed, the Turks marched into Greece. The total ruin of the Greek provinces was, however, retarded, by the valour of Scanderbeg, from 1404 to 1450. The Morea submitted to the Turkish arms after the fall of Constantinople, 1453.

The Turks are generally called Barbarians; but Mahomet, who took Constantinople, was not only a patron of literary merit, but was himself an elegant poet.—Sir W. Jones's Works, Vol. II. page 124.

by some other Friars, was sent by Ferdinand, with Columbus, as their apostolical Vicar. But these appointments produced no solid advantages, and the accounts of the succeeding century prove, that the Gospel did not make those advances, which might reasonably have been expected, from the zeal and influence of the conquerors.

In Spain, the conquest of Granada, in 1492, gave a fatal blow to the Moorish power, and an additional kingdom to a Christian Prince: but the conquered Moors, in defiance of threats and persuasion, obstinately adhered to the religion of their fathers.

The dread of the Inquisition had a more powerful effect upon the minds of the Jews, who, rather than incur its severities, feigned a submission to their sovereign's pleasure.

The Latins improved by the fall of Constantinople; and Italy became the patroness of science and the arts. The family of Medici, and the Neapolitan Princes of the House of Arragon, gave the warmest encouragement to those, whom the loss of their country, or the dread of persecution, had driven from the Greek Empire. Academies were founded in Italy, France, and Germany, where the youth were liberally instructed, and industry was excited to exertion, by the hope of glory and reward. The art of printing, by means of which, copies of the most useful books were readily obtained, facilitated the progress of learning, and prepared the public mind for more important changes. A very considerable revolution had also taken place in the taste of the age, and the mild and sublime philosophy of Plato, was gaining ground upon the sophisms and metaphysical refinements of the Schoolmen. Accurate editions of the classics, illustrated by useful commentaries, became more frequent; and the liberal arts were cultivated with a zeal which fforded the best hope of future improvement. The patrons of a. scholastic tenets, though upheld by all the authority of the the ant orders, in vain exerted their arts against so beneficial mendi tion. The translation of the Scriptures into almost all the a reforma.

languages of Europe, became a principal source of national instruction; and in defiance of the terrors of the Inquisition, and the decrees of the Roman See, many attempts were made, both in England, Germany, France, and even Italy itself, to restore the Christian religion to its former purity *.

The very idea of reform was of course hostile to the power which had so long been usurped by the Papal See† and its Ministers; and the Council of Constance‡, which sat more than three years, and that of Basil, in 1431, though expressly assembled to quiet the public dissensions, served only, by their decisions, to aggravate the mischiefs they should have remedied. The Popes, and many of the dignified Clergy, seem to have dreaded all innovation as encroaching on their authority; and, to divert the public mind from an object so dangerous to their usurpations, a new Council was summoned, in 1438, at Ferrara, under the pretence of reconciling the differences,

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* The Albigenses, and many other sectaries of Narbonne Gaul, who had been persecuted in the 13th century, under Simon de Montfort, 1215, fled into Bohemia, where the power of the Inquisition could not so easily reach them. Among these were many of the Greek church, who were said to have adopted the opinions of the Manichees, and were called Katharists, or Puritans. They united with the partizans of John Hus, and declared against the Papal usurpations. Hus was in consequence summoned before the Council of Constance, and though protected by the Emperor's safe conduct, was perfidiously burned alive; his friend Jerome, of Prague, soon afterwards shared the same fate. A. D. 1415 and 1416.

In consequence of this massacre, the Hussites, under their leader, John Ziska, declared war against the Emperor Sigismund and his adherents, which was carried on, by both parties, with the most relentless fury. The standards of the Hussites were the rallying point of all the sectaries, who detested, or feared the Roman power.

† Roderic Borgia, or Alexander VI. was the last Pope in this century. He died 1503, by the poison that he had prepared for others.

‡ The writings of Wickliffe were branded with infamy by this Council (Constance), and his bones ordered to be dug up, and committed, together with his works, to the flames.

which had so long existed between the Greek and Latin Churches*. Hither, the Greek Emperor, John Palæologus, terrified by the approaches of the Turks, and under the hope of assistance from his Latin allies, had repaired, with some of his principal clergy, to settle the conditions of peace. But, the terms of reconciliation, were no sooner agreed upon, than broken, and the Greek Empire was left to its fate.

Sixteenth century.

At the beginning of this century, the Roman See, by its triumphs over Hus, Ziska, and the German Reformers, seemed to have acquired a higher degree of security; this tranquillity, however, was more apparent than real: for the causes, which, had, during the two last centuries, given a new turn to public opinion, continued to operate with increasing force. The complaints against the lives of the clergy, both regular and secular, became every day louder, and the abandoned manners of the Popes nourished the general discontent. The disputes also about the infallibility of their decrees, and the nature and force of general councils, were conducted with augmented acrimony; while the progress of learning opened the minds of men to a fuller conviction of the abuses of the age, every effort was directed to remove them.

This happy renovation of learning gave advantages to the European churches, which they were eager to transmit to the most distant nations. Many of the Princes and States of Europe had long observed, with aversion, the growing power of Rome, and the corruptions of its clergy; and they justly calculated upon the influence of learning, as the only effectual method, of restoring the purity of religious worship, and a greater freedom to civil institutions. Greek and Roman literature was therefore studied with enthusiasm; and becoming the language of the great, their sentiments and example, were transfused into common life, by their disciples and

* A union was also settled between the Armenians and Latins.

admirers. In the theological compositions of the more enlightened divines, the scholastic doctrines were exploded, and the precepts of Christianity explained in easy language, and by simple and familiar illustrations. The paths of philosophy, were also gradually divested of their former mystery; and some of the discoveries in experimental science, were employed, in the useful purposes of national improvement.

Such was the state of Europe when Martin Luther*, an Augustin Monk, attacked the practice and opinions of the Church of Rome, and began that reformation, which, in the end separated England, Helvetia, and many of the Northern States, from its spiritual dominion. It is, however, foreign to our purpose, to enter into the history of the attempts, that were made by the several powers of Europe, to recover their freedom from the Roman yoke. A great revolution had taken place in the minds of men; science and the arts found every day new encouragement, and Europe began to awaken from the darkness in which it had been so long involved.

The Portuguese and Spaniards were, in the mean time, successfully engaged in the discovery of new regions, and in disseminating their own notions of the Christian religion, in countries which they either ruled as sovereigns, or visited as friends. That the religion conveyed by these nations, was inadequate to the purpose of rooting out the ancient superstitions, may be collected from the temper of the times, the modes of conversion pursued, and the genius of the people; and there is too much reason to fear, that the name of Christian, was the only change effected amongst their converts.

During the space of forty-five years, the Spaniards indulged every species of cruelty and rapine that bigotry and avarice could suggest: millions of Indians perished either in defence of their country, Robertson's America.

* Luther was professor of divinity in the academy of Wittemburgh. He was a native of Aisleben, in Saxony.

or their faith; and the numbers said to have been converted, were probably induced to conform more from the fear of punishment, than the arts of persuasion. America soon swarmed with monks, who quitted the convents of Europe from the hope of gain, or the desire of change; and such ample encouragement was afforded them, that in a short time two hundred monasteries were founded in the New World by the Augustins alone.

Fabric. Lux Evang. c. xlviii.

To compensate for their loss of spiritual power in Europe, the Roman Pontiffs had turned their views to other quarters of the globe, and the conversion of the newly-discovered countries, and of those yet unknown, seemed to promise them an accession of wealth and importance. The society of Jesus, or the Jesuits, was professedly instituted in 1540 for the execution of these important projects; but perhaps the real object of this Order, was to restore the Popes in Europe, to the power and estimation they had justly forfeited by their crimes and usurpations. The Pagans, however, of Africa, America, and India, presented a wide scope for their exertions; and at the same time, the zeal of the other monastic orders, more especially of the Dominicans and Franciscans, was animated by the example and industry of their enterprising rivals.

But a very little knowledge of the nature of the Catholic missions, may be sufficient to convince us, that no great benefit could result from their labours. The Portuguese commanded in the East, the Spaniards in the West. The religion of both nations was Christian; but their general practice was abhorrent from its principles. The mode of education adopted by the Portuguese was deservedly entitled to the severest censure. The children of the Princes whose alliance they wished to cultivate, were sent to Goa, to be educated at the expense of the court of Lisbon. Here, being early admitted to a participation in the most criminal pleasures, and taught to disregard every thing that was either virtuous or sacred, they could not, when they arrived at maturity, but detest or at least despise, their

Raynal's India, Vol. I. B. II.

instructors. But independent of other causes, the cruelties exercised by them under these notions, both in India and America, must have wholly disqualified them from being the messengers of a mild and peaceful religion. The fear of punishment may have sometimes prevailed where argument and persuasion were ineffectual; and the Inquisition* established at Goa compelled many to adopt a rule of faith, that had no connection with the essentials of piety, but consisted chiefly in an acknowledgment of the Papal power. The other missionaries did not in general pursue a more rational course: the Scriptures of the Old, and New Testament were never committed to the hands of their proselytes, nor did they give them any instruction, in the principles of the religion, they professed to disseminate. There is, however, a more favourable report of the labours of Francis Xavier, or, as he is called, the Apostle of the Indians; who, after spreading the Catholic faith through the Portuguese settlements, and over a great part of the continent and adjacent islands, perished in consequence "of his uncommon fatigues in the small "island of San-Shian, on the coast of China, in the year 1552."

Fabric. Lux Evang. c. xxxii.

Barrow's China, p. 445.

In Japan, some progress had been made in 1529 towards the conversion of the natives, and the Christian teachers were kindly received. In China, they met with the same success, and, influenced

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* The Viceroy and Archbishop of Goa dared not interpose against a decree of the Inquisition, though they were the only two persons over whom the Inquisition had no power; for if they did any thing to offend them, they presently wrote to the Inquisitor and his Council in Portugal; and as the King and the Inquisitor-General commanded, they either proceeded against, or sent them to Europe. The ignorance of the Inquisitor and his Council at Goa was so great, that a French priest asserted, after his examination by them, that he verily believed not any one of them had ever read the Scriptures.

Tavernier, Ind. Travels, Part II. B. II.

In every town subject to the jurisdiction of the Portuguese, an Inquisitor was established, who had the power of sending any offender to Goa, to be tried by the Council.

either by political motives, or indifferent about the religious opinions of his subjects, the Emperor gave to Matthew Ricci not only the privilege of expounding the gospel, but of establishing Christian churches, which, though variously persecuted, exist at this day*.

As the great object of the Roman See in these frequent missions to the East, was obviously the increase of its own power, the main points, therefore, enforced upon the Jesuits, in what regarded the conversion of the Infidels, seem to have been the acknowledgment of its supremacy, and the renunciation of the opinions which had been condemned by the General Councils. This observation more particularly applies to the missions and negotiations with the Abyssinians, Copts, Armenians, and Nestorians; where, to effect their purpose, the Jesuits scrupled not to sow dissensions among the people, and to espouse any party that was most favourable to their own interest. An account of the cruelties† exercised by the Portuguese Jesuits and other missionaries in Abyssinia‡, may be seen

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* The controversy between the various orders about the mode adopted in the conversion of the Chinese, will be hereafter considered. We may, however, form some idea of it from the opinion of Ricci, who declared that the greatest part of those rites which the Chinese were obliged by the laws of their country to perform, might be innocently observed by the new converts; and he defended this indulgence, by urging, that those rites, were of a *civil*, not of a *sacred* nature, invented from motives of policy, and not considered in any other light, even by the lowest of the people.

Mosheim, Ecc. Hist. Vol. IV. Sect. i. p. 225. octavo.

† A Spanish Doctor apologizes for these cruelties in the following manner: "Si "alors (in the early ages of the Church) on ne bruloit pas les hérétiques opiniâtres, "c'est qu'outre qu'ils étoient fort puissans, le Pape n'avoit pas les forces, ni "l'appui des Princes Séculiers. Présentement, la Foi étant établie & reçue, et le "Souverain Pontife ayant acquis beaucoup de pouvoir, il est juste que l'on pro-"cède contre eux par les plus cruels supplices," &c.

Quoted by La Croze, Hist. du Christianisme d'Ethiopie, Liv. III. p. 304.

‡ The Portuguese, had rendered some services to the Abyssinians, in a war against the Moors, by the troops which they had sent from Goa. In consequence, the Abyssinian Prince swore allegiance to the Roman Pontiff, but neither arguments nor threats could prevail on the people to follow his example. The Inquisition and the Jesuits were alike unsuccessful; for, compelled by the remonstrances and rebellion of his sub-

A. D. 1626. Breve passim.

in the work of the learned La Croze; and whatever success they might have at first met with in that country, it was soon annulled by the disgust, which both prince and people had conceived, at their base and intolerant conduct. Their ministry was not more fortunate amongst the Eastern Christians: the terrors of the Inquisition at Goa, had indeed produced a temporary effect upon the Nestorian Christians of the Malabar Coast, but in defiance of the menaces and persuasion of the Pope and his Ministers, they soon returned to the jurisdiction of the Chaldæan Patriarch.

Hist. du Christianisme d'Ethiopie, L. II. p. 303, duodecimo.

Buchanan Exp. E. E. p. 57.

Whilst the Popes were thus anxious to restore their power, the Protestants were no less ardent in the diffusion of their principles. Many missionaries were sent by them into foreign parts, and more particularly into North America, where the English had made extensive settlements, and the progress of their opinions in this quarter of the world, served to balance the advantages obtained by their rivals.

Fabric. Lux Evang. c. xxxv.

As a more favourable occasion may not offer, of mentioning the Greek Church, and the other societies of Christians now existing in the East, it will prevent any future digression, to introduce in this place, whatever information can be conveyed of their present condition.

Present state of the Greek Church.

Had the Saracens, Turks, and other Mahomedan tribes, adopted the same conduct towards the Christians as the European nations had practised towards the followers of the Koran, it is probable that the Christian religion would have been extinguished in the East. The Greek Empire fell into the hands of the Turks, when the corruptions both of Church and State, had risen to such a height, as to have banished every sentiment of religion and patriotism. Since that

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jects, the Emperor revoked the hateful edict, and in 1634 the Jesuits, their Patriarch, and the Prince attached to them, were expelled the country, where the name of Rome and its Pontiff have been ever since held in the highest aversion.

period, nearly all the learning and science of the Greeks have been lost in ignorance and superstition. If, in a nation thus mentally and politically enslaved, "some men of genius and learning may "occasionally arise, and shine like meteors in a gloomy firma-"ment;" the people continue the same, and this intellectual darkness has had the most pernicious influence on their morals. The religion of the Greeks consists, at present, of a strange collection of trifling ceremonies, which they seem much more anxious to observe, than to maintain the doctrine, or obey the precepts of the gospel. Many attempts had been formerly made by the Latin Church, in the zenith of its power, to reconcile the differences that existed between the two communions; but the dispute would not admit of compromise, and the mediators only met to separate with more inveterate hatred. The efforts of Melancthon and the Reformers proved equally unsuccessful, and the Greek Church still remains in its former state of ignorance and separation.

See, on this subject, Knolles's Hist. Turks, p. 1484.

But though the Turks have not extirpated the Christian religion in their dominions, the ignorant policy of their government, has gone far to extinguish in the minds of their Greek subjects every spark of genius, and every trace of piety and virtue.

Such is the picture of the members of the Greek Church in the Ægean Sea, and the European and Asiatic provinces of Turkey; nor is the situation of those, who, under the names of Georgians and Mingrelians, inhabit the countries of ancient Iberia and Colchis, of a more flattering nature. They profess, it is true, the Christian faith, and the Georgians still preserve some semblance of their former customs; but the main part of their religion is engrossed in festivals and a round of tedious forms; whilst, in Iberia, the most solemn services are performed without order or decency, and the duties and virtues of a Christian life are either unknown or disregarded.

Imeritta, Mingrelia, Guriel. Sir John Chardin and later travellers.

These nations have a Pontiff at their head, who is called the

Catholic. He pays a certain tribute to the Patriarch of Constantinople; but is not subject, in the interior government of his church, to any foreign jurisdiction. The power which Russia has now acquired in the Crimea and the adjoining countries, and the influence she possesses over the Georgian and Circassian Princes, may perhaps materially contribute to their instruction and reformation.

Jacobites.

The state of the Eastern Christians, wherever they are subject to the Mahomedan power, is little superior to that of the Greeks and Colchians. Some of them neither acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Greek nor Latin Churches, and are distinguished by the name of Jacobites and Nestorians; sects, which arose in the early ages of the Church, from the disputes then agitated, concerning the nature of Christ. The Jacobite Patriarchs reside at Antioch, Merdin, Aleppo, and other Syrian cities, or at Mosul in Mesopotamia. Grand Cairo is the residence of the Alexandrian Patriarchs, under whose jurisdiction are included the Copts and Abyssinians.

Armenians.

The Armenian Christians agree in many points with the Jacobites. The episcopal seat, of their principal great Patriarch, is at the monastery of Echmiazin, in the Greater Armenia. They have also other Patriarchs, dispersed over the countries, where their tenets are adopted, who either profess allegiance to the supreme head of their church, or have been seduced under the dominion of the Roman Pontiff.

Tavernier, and Chardin's Persian Travels.

Nestorians.

Of all the Christian societies established in the East, the Nestorians or Chaldæans, so called, because their chief residence was in Mesopotamia, have been most careful in avoiding that multiplicity of errors, and superstitious rites, which have cast such an indelible stain upon the Latin and Greek churches.

The controul of the Nestorian Pontiff, who resides chiefly at Mosul*,

* Mosul is said to stand on, or near the site, of the ancient Nineveh. It is situated on the Tigris, and is chiefly inhabited by Curds and Arabians. Ancient Assyria is

extends over a great part of Asia, and anciently comprehended the Christians of Arabia and those of St. Thomas on the coast of Malabar.

These are the principal divisions of the Eastern Christians. Other subordinate sects might indeed be enumerated, which have signalized themselves by peculiar vices, or by the most ridiculous and impious tenets; but from the doctrines and labours of their members, little accession of strengh or of honour can be expected to the Christian cause*.

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now called Curdistan. Nesbin, or Nisibis, the residence of the ancient Chaldæan Patriarch, is now only a large village inhabited by Armenians and Nestorians.

Tavernier's Persian Travels, B. II.

* The Maronites, who inhabit the neighbourhood of Mount Libanus, speak Arabic, and follow the Romish religion. They are the friends and allies of the Druses. Tavernier found many of them established at Aleppo, who depended on the Pope. At the same place the Catholic churches were served by the Capuchins, Carmelites, and Jesuits. The Greeks, Armenians, and Jacobites, had each their churches and bishops. Christians of these persuasions are to be met with in all parts of the country, on the route from Aleppo to Ispahan, through Mesopotamia and Assyria. In Arabia, and some other parts of the East, there is a sect called by travellers "Christians of St. "John the Baptist, whose disciples also they pretend to be, using a kind of bap-"tism, which is the greatest mark they bear of Christianity." Mahomed tolerated this sect on paying tribute. They have a book in the Chaldæan tongue, which they hold in the utmost veneration, called the Book of Seth, the supposed founder of their religion. The Psalms are the only true Scriptures they read; the other parts of their worship have a great mixture of the Sabian superstitions. Mr. Scott Waring observes, "that the Christians who are dispersed over the East are in general treated "with more lenity than their conduct reasonably deserves, especially the Armenians, "whose manners are altogether depraved by the habits of a long servitude. The "Christians generally complain, but the Moslems do not interfere with their religion; "and their priests perform the service without insult or molestation. The Chris-"tians are more inveterate against each other, than either the Turks or Persians "against the followers of the Gospel."

Sale's Koran, Pre. Disc. p. 20.

Tour to Sheeraz, p. 132.

CHAP. XII.

POLICY OF THE MOGUL PRINCES OF HINDOOSTAN—THE PORTUGUESE AND DUTCH ATTEMPT TO CONVERT THE NATIVES—THE MISSIONARY ESTABLISHMENTS OF THE CATHOLICS, &c.

HAVING now traced the history of Christianity in the East from its origin to the conclusion of the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese and Dutch had made considerable settlements in the peninsula and the islands of India, whatever may in future occur upon the subject, will be included in the general history of the country.

The Afghan Sultans, and the first Mahomedan Princes of Hindoostan, in a rapid course of conquest and plunder, seem to have endeavoured, by every perversion of zeal, to level with the dust the finest monuments of national reverence. The Hindoo was not only driven from the peaceful occupations of trade and agriculture, but science and the arts were discountenanced under the rigid prohibitions of the Koran, and the sacred rites of his religion were polluted by the conversion of the pagoda into a mosque. The princes of the house of Tamerlane, the sincerity of whose faith has been justly questioned, seem to have generally acted on the policy of tolerating all religions; and even Aurengzebe was at length compelled to acknowledge the folly of persecuting opinions, which, instead of being crushed by the defilement of a temple, or the murder of a Brahmin, rose like the hydra with redoubled force.

It is recorded, that Akber, being chagrined with the continual dis-

putes which arose in his dominions, from the discordant opinions of the Hindus, the Mahomedans, the Parsees, and the Christians of Europe and Armenia; and unable either by authority or promises to engage the Brahmins to reveal the principles of their faith*, (which, however eager other systems are for proselytes, rejected all converts, and therefore defied investigation,) had resolved, by the propagation of a new creed, to reconcile, if possible, these dangerous contentions. A speculation so dangerous, was, however, never reduced to practice. Foreseeing the distractions that might arise from interfering with ancient opinions, or probably dissuaded from it by his counsellors, he abandoned his project altogether, and resorted, it is said, to the dangerous maxim, of tolerating all, though he would give no credit to any of the established systems†.

Rennel. Bernier.

In his letter to the King of Portugal, this Prince censured in the strongest terms the "slavish propensity of mankind to adopt "the religious opinions of their fathers without evidence or investigation, and desired that some learned persons conversant in the Oriental and European languages might be sent to him. He also

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* Abdul Fazil, the Minister of Akber, was however enabled, by the most assiduous researches, and the assistance of some of the Pundits, to publish a Compendium of Hindoo Jurisprudence in the Ayeen Acbaree, which may be considered as the first genuine communication of its principles to persons of a different religion.

Lord Teignmouth's Life of Sir W. Jones, Vol. II. p. 29.

† "The best adoration," says Akber, in a Code addressed to the officers of his empire, "which man in this world can pay to his Maker, is duly to administer the "affairs of his creatures, discarding passion and affection, and without distinction "of friend or foe, relation or stranger." Contrast these generous sentiments with the persecuting spirit of Aurungzebe. The Hindus might well call Akber the guardian of mankind, when they reflected upon the cruel conduct of his descendant. —See the Letter of a Hindoo Rajah in Orme's Fragments, or Robertson's India, p. 350.

requested translations of the heavenly books, the Pentateuch, Psalms and Gospels, or of any others of general utility.

In consequence of this invitation, some Jesuits were sent, who built a church at Agra, which was endowed with a pension from the royal treasury. Jehanguire, the son of Akber, allowed them also to build another at Lahore, some of whose furniture remained at the time of Thevenot's visit. It is related of this Prince, that, disgusted with the importunities of the rival sects*, he resolved upon a curious expedient to prove the excellency of their respective creeds. Inviting into his presence a Mullah, a Brahmin, and a Portuguese Priest, he desired each to vindicate the authenticity of his own doctrine. Upon all asserting that their creeds were founded upon miracles, the Prince declared that he was still unconvinced; and therefore, to establish the truth, he recommended that each should be surrounded with a fire, his sacred book being placed under his arms, and that his creed should prevail, who remained unhurt by the flames. The Mullah trembled, the Priest seemed inclined to accept the offer; but Jehanguire, not choosing to put him to the proof, continued in his former opinions.

A. D. 1605. Dow, H. Hindostan.

Dow, Hindost. Vol. III. p. 144. Bernier, Vol. I.

The dark policy and fanatical spirit of Aurungzebe† gave but little encouragement to the professors of the Christian faith; and the confusions of the Empire, subsequent to his death, rendered their labours more difficult and dangerous.

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* After Jehanguire had recalled his order for the destruction of the Hindoo idols, finding that it was a measure both cruel and ineffectual, he is said to have exclaimed, "That a Prince who wishes to have subjects, must take them with all the trumpery "and baubles of their religion."

† Sultan Sujah made great promises to the missionaries, in order to induce the Portuguese in Bengal to join his arms against Aurungzebe.

The Portuguese, indeed, though they may have been able warriors, were but ill qualified to explain the precepts of the Gospel. Like the general order of the Catholic clergy of that age, their priests appear to have been better acquainted with the Legends of their Saints, and the observance of peculiar ceremonies, and more solicitous about enlarging the Empire of Rome, than the kingdom of Christ. Their moral character, was not more favourable to the mental improvement of their converts, than their religious notions; and their very profession of Christianity, instead of an honour, was in fact an injury to it; for men must respect the Teacher, before they will listen to his instruction.

How then could either the Hindoo or the Mussulman believe a people, whose sacred books described a Being, that delighted in a pure and spiritual worship, and in pious and generous actions, whilst persecution*, theft, murder, drunkenness, and the profanation of all that is just and good, were the common practice and distinguishing marks of its followers. The superstitious Catholic abhorred the rites of Brahma, and the traditions of the Koran; and the Hindoo and the Mussulman stigmatized the Christian with the reproach of idolatry. You accuse us, they would say, of reverencing Brahma, Veeshnu, and Seeva; of adoring Mahomed or Ali; yet we believe only in the Divine Unity. You really worship dead men, and pay a higher regard to the man whom you call the Vicar of Christ, than you do to Christ himself. It could not, therefore, be expected, that the people of Hindoostan would adopt a religion, which the very evi-

Raynal's India, Vol. I. p. 113.

Raynal's India, Vol. I. p. 114.

* At Goa they had established the Inquisition, and whoever was rich became a prey to the ministers of that infamous tribunal. To pillage, cheat, and enslave idolaters, was considered rather a merit than a crime. All the proselytes made by the Portuguese were of the lowest tribes.

dence of their senses, and the example of its advocates, tended to contradict: for men are ever more ready to be seduced by an ill example, than guided by the instruction of those whose lives correspond with the rule of their doctrine. The Jesuits and the missionaries proposed to change the belief of the Indian, because he was in the wrong; they affected to shew him one in which salvation was alone to be found; but the religion they offered was a corrupted faith; and the design seems to have sprung rather from a mistaken zeal for particular doctrines, than any reasonable sense of the duties and objects of Christianity.

When the Portuguese arrived in India, they found nearly a hundred Christian churches on the Coast of Malabar; the purity and simplicity of whose doctrine had not greatly deviated from the primitive faith. The patriarchal see of their Bishops was Antioch. Upon these Christians, the Portuguese first exercised their ill-timed zeal. Indignant at their obstinacy, in owning but two Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, in denying transubstantiation, the invocation of Saints, purgatory, and, above all, at their refusal to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, they raised against them a persecution, in which the Episcopal Palace, and the Syriac and Chaldæan books*, which had been deposited in their churches, were directed to be burned, in order, say the *enlightened* Inquisitors, "that no pretended apostolical monuments may remain." The dread of the Inquisition produced a temporary conformity, in some of the members, to the Romish Church; but a great body of them resolutely defended their faith; and being afterwards assisted by the

Buchanan, Esp. Ecc. Est. p. 58, 59.

* It has been recently stated, on respectable authority, that certain ancient MSS. in the Chaldaic language, are preserved in the country of Travancore. Dr. Buchanan has discovered a considerable colony of Christians in this country, 55 churches, and a collection of very valuable antiquities.

Dutch, on the capture of Cochin, in 1663, not only triumphed over all opposition, but eventually brought back the seceders themselves to the worship of their fathers.

The quarrels between the Dutch and Portuguese contributed also greatly to retard the progress of the Gospel: while the latter were masters of Cranganore, the Jesuits, or Fathers of St. Paul, as they are called in that country, besides their church, possessed a numerous college, and a fine library: the Franciscans had a convent; and the Christians of Saint Thomas, an archbishopric and a cathedral*. But when the Dutch took the city, their hatred to the Catholics was exercised upon their establishments, and the Papal forms were prohibited under the severest penalties. The same fate awaited them in Ceylon, where, according to Cosmas, as early as the sixth century, there were flourishing churches established by the Apostles and their successors: these the Portuguese had endeavoured to restore; but when the Dutch seized on the island, they again fell to decay.

At the time the Dutch were rising above the Portuguese, the trade of the latter nation was greatly on the decline; their military spirit had decayed; and their attention being principally occupied in converting the natives, the Ecclesiastical ruled absolutely over both the civil and military power. The Dutch took advantage of this change, and persuaded the Malays to trade with them, in preference to their rivals, whose sole object, they declared, was to abolish Mahomedanism, and to compel them to embrace Christianity. The conquest of Malacca, in 1641, was another fatal blow to the cause of the Christian religion: "the Jesuits had a house there, respectable,

* When Gama took the city of Meliapour, he found a great number of the inhabitants who professed the Christian religion. He changed the name of the city to San Thomé, in honour of the Apostle, who was reported to have been martyred by the Brahmins, on a neighbouring mount. All these Christians were Nestorians or Chaldeans.

"not only on account of its founder, who is believed to have been "Francis Xavier, the great Saint and Apostle of the Indies, but for "the good which they are admitted to have done there, even by "the testimony of a Dutch Protestant." Chev. de Guyon, N.H. E.Ind. Vol. I. p. 359.

The Dutch have been generally accused of too much devotion to their commercial pursuits; and of indifference to the concerns of religion. Perhaps their tolerant notions in this respect may have rendered them averse to force their opinions upon the natives, or the disgrace of the Portuguese had cooled the ardour of proselytism. It is certain that the Dutch colonies are at present in the most neglected state, as to religion and morals; and this may have given rise to the accusation of their former negligence. The general charge has, indeed, been repelled by the reports of the labours of the States General, and the East India Company; wherein, it appears, that orders were given not only for the instruction of the natives under their dominion, but for the general distribution of copies of the Scriptures, translated into the Malay and Portuguese languages*. Fabric. Lux Evan. c. xxxiv. and xxxv. sect. ii. and iii.

The accounts which have been transmitted to Europe from the East, by the missionaries, and more especially the Jesuits, of the great success attendant upon their labours, excited, at one time, the most flattering expectations of their future progress; but experience has since betrayed the fallacy of these hopes. The ministers of the Church of Rome are indeed still scattered along the shores of the Euxine Sea, amid the wild inhabitants of Mingrelia and Guriel, and the mountains of Georgia, through Armenia, Persia, and the more distant provinces of Upper Asia; most of whom, with the exception of some enlightened Jesuits†, are the ignorant refuse of the

* Many of the inhabitants of Ceylon, Formosa, the Coast of Malabar, and other Asiatic settlements of the Dutch, were induced, by their influence, to embrace the Christian faith.

† In 1601 the Jesuits, settled at Manilla, were successfully employed in civilizing

Portuguese and Italian schools. But, instead of the conversion of the natives, their main object appears to have been the introduction of the Papal opinions, or the confirmation and extension of the commercial and political power of the Princes who supported them.

Fabric. L. Evan. cap. xxxiii.

The establishment of the two congregations for the propagandâ fide, in 1622 and 1627, was directed to the same end, and gave, a present consequence, and an appearance of future advantage to their patrons: but every attempt to increase the Papal power, contributed very little to the advancement of the Gospel in the East. The zeal for conversion was not, however, confined to Italy; other nations claimed a share in the same laudable work, and in France, more particularly, societies were formed, the members of which having been dignified with the titles of Apostolical Vicars and Bishops, passed into Persia, Siam, Tonquin, and Cochin China*. The Jesuits had, however, preceded them, in most places, and by having rendered themselves useful to the Chinese Court, by their astronomical knowledge, had acquired a considerable number of converts. They had also entered largely into commerce, and their vessels carried on a lucrative traffic at Macao, and to the kingdom of Macassar. The Jesuits of Goa had long possessed a great share in the profits of the diamonds found in the mines of the kingdom of Visiapour, where, they usually sent some of their order habited as Faquirs, to make valuable purchases from the native and Mahomedan merchants.

Siam, 1658.

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the rude inhabitants of the Luzonian mountains, and converting them to Christianity.

* The religion of Cochin China is Theism, the main doctrine of Confucius, whose precepts and writings are there held in higher veneration than in China. Father Alexander, of Rhodes, a Jesuit missionary, is said to have preached the Gospel in that kingdom with considerable success.

The new teachers were, therefore, regarded by them, not only as religious rivals, but as dangerous competitors, in their mercantile speculations; and consequently no benefit could result from the labours of religious orders, Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, Capuchins, who, without any common point of union, looked on each other with the most marked aversion, and opposed every measure that might promote the success of the Gospel, when it either interfered with their own prejudices, or the interest of their societies.

The church of Rome has not, however, ceased to boast of the success of its missions, and has published splendid accounts of the wealth and number of its eastern converts; but the relations of modern travellers have sufficiently proved, that no great reliance is to be placed upon them. Had they indeed made any real converts to Christianity, notwithstanding all the allay of superstition mixed with it, we might have been inclined to applaud their zeal, and to lament the causes which have checked their progress; but the case is far otherwise.

We are told, by Bernier, who resided long at Delhi, and was enabled, by his situation and connections, to form an accurate judgment of the manners of the people, and the success of the missionaries, that after what he had seen, after having frequently conversed with the obstinate Infidels, "ces obstinez Infidelles," he was fully persuaded that by their instructions, their alms, and charities, the Jesuits and others might perhaps make a few converts from Gentilism, but in ten years, scarcely a single Christian from Mahomedanism. They speak well, he observes, of the religion, and pronounce the name of Christ with signal reverence; nor is the word Aysa, that is to say Jesus, ever mentioned by them without adding that of Azaret, or *Majesty*; but we must not, therefore, expect that they will renounce their own creed for ours. According to his opinion, the only effectual way to accomplish this object, was, for the Christian Tom. I. p. 104

powers to support constant missionaries, who might be no charge to the natives, of manners pure and blameless, not a scandal to the law they professed; men, who should always be on the spot, to seize every favourable moment, "rendre toujours temoignage à la "verité, & travailler à la vigne quand il plaira à Dieu de leur en "faire ouverture."

Bernier, Tom. I. The account he gives of the Jesuit missionaries at Agra is equally unfavourable. "Ils y enseignent en particulier la doctrine Chré-"tienne aux enfans de vingt cinque ou trente familles de Chrétiens "qui se sont je ne sçais comment ramassez là et habituez à cause de "charité* que les Peres leur font." In the Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, a pompous description is given of the success of their mission in the kingdom of Madura, Marawa, and in the Carnatic; but in all these countries, the same objectionable methods were pursued; the essentials of Christianity were never inculcated, nor was any fraud deemed unlawful to extend the boundaries of the church.

Fabric. Lux Evan. c. xxxi.

When the Brahmins have been pressed by the arguments of the Christians, that their law could only be observed in their own country, on account of its peculiar ordinances, their answer has been uniform, "that God had only made it for them, and therefore they "did not admit into it strangers; that they pretended not that "Christianity was false; and since God could make many roads to "heaven, it was not thence to be presumed that their religion "was mere fable and invention." This did not, however, either damp the zeal of the missionary, or calm the hatred of the Brahmin towards his countrymen, who had embraced Christianity; whom indeed he held in higher abomination, than any of the vilest

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* Their donations of rice procured them many nominal converts on the Malabar Coast.

castes. Some of the missionaries seeing this aversion for their converts, and the obstacles which it threw in their way, affected the exterior of Brahmins, Penitents, and Sanyasses, and conforming to their manner of living and dress, avoided all communication with the despised Parias, even refusing to administer to them the sacraments. These practices were at length abolished by an apostolical Legate, who had the justice to condemn a policy, so contrary to that Gospel, which allows no distinction between its members.

The objection does not here lie against a want of zeal on the part of the Roman missionaries, but against its misapplication; for, had it been guided by any principles of prudence or any regard to truth, their labours in Hindoostan, the Birman Empire, Cochin China, China, Japan, and the more southern islands, would have been crowned with more abundant success*.

In China, the manners of the vanquished people soon became those of the conquerors: the Tartars either adopted the religion of the country, or left it as they found it; and perhaps the Princes of this dynasty, would have tolerated any religion, which did not immediately interfere with that of the State. Francis Xavier, though he ardently desired it, was never suffered to land upon the continent of China. Two Jesuits, Roger and Ricci, were the first, who were permitted to enter the kingdom, and they became acceptable by their mathematical knowledge. The Bonzes, however, raised against them several persecutions, but even this hostility did not prove so disastrous, as the opposition they met with from the Dominican

Fabric. Lux Evan. c. xxxix. p. 661.

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* Major Symes speaks in the highest terms of the conduct of an Italian missionary from the Society de propagandâ fide, settled at Rangoon, whose exemplary life and innocent manners had conciliated the favour of the Birmans, and had collected around him a considerable number of Portuguese, the descendants of the ancient colonists. He was thoroughly conversant in the Birman language. Embassy to Ava, p. 206

Friars at Macao, who declared that they had a design to depose the Emperor, and to usurp his throne. The Viceroys and Governors seconded this opinion; some severities were, therefore, practised on them, and together with their converts, they retired to Macao. A Tartar war, however, induced the Emperors once more to take them into favour; and in 1640 the former dynasty having been overthrown, the present race of Princes gave them at first the most ample encouragement. In consequence of this protection, the direction of the Society of Mathematicians, which, for 300 years, had been under the charge of the Mahomedans, was consigned to Adam Shaal, who reformed the calendar, and obtained great favour at the Court. But the knowledge of the Jesuits in astronomy, physic, and military science, which had been the principal cause of their recommendation, was unfavourable to the promotion of Christianity; and was viewed with a jealous eye by the Chinese, especially by those, whose interest it was, to keep the people in subjection to the religious ordinances of the country. The consequences were such as might have been expected in an absolute government; according to the humour of the Prince, the Christian Priests were alternately protected and discountenanced; and their law was either condemned as dangerous, or declared to contain nothing inconsistent with the welfare of the State.

These repeated disappointments did not, however, check the ardor of the European Princes. In 1688 Lewis XIV. in consequence of some new proffers from the Chinese Court, sent over Le Compte and some other Jesuits; and, for the better maintenance of their rank, settled upon them a handsome revenue. But the favourable aspect of affairs under the new establishment, was soon clouded by the misconduct of the Jesuits, and the disputes which arose between them and the other orders. The Jesuits were accused of allowing their converts to assist in the idolatrous practices, prayers, and sacrifices

of the heathen*; but the force of this accusation was repelled by the Society, which pretended, that these observances were only the testimonials of civil respect. Outward appearances were certainly against them, and the favourite arguments which they had drawn to convert the Indians and Chinese, from their forced analogies between the Christian and the Heathen systems, gave a greater colour to the charge. The rival Orders, not content with their private quarrels, carried their cause, and prosecuted their claims in the Courts of China, where, they exerted their ingenuity in representing their opponents as dangerous to the Government, until both parties, wearied with continual litigation, appealed at length to the Pope.

The Jesuits would have excused the libations and ceremonies performed in the Hall of Ancestors, as the marks of respect and veneration for the dead; but their adversaries stigmatized them with countenancing idolatry. The Cardinal Legate (de Tournon) deputed for this purpose, endeavoured to arrest the progress of the evil, and to reconcile, if possible, their animosities; but the feud would not admit of compromise. By these continual dissensions, a new reproach was cast upon the religion they professed, some affirming, what others had denied: thus, there was no longer any fixed standard for religious opinion, and the Chinese, disgusted with their quarrels, observed, that their object was private ambition, not a desire of public instruction, upon pious and liberal motives. Fancying also, that the Roman Pontiffs presumed to interfere in their national faith, the Chinese Tribunal of Rites declared, "That no Europeans should for the

Cope's Hist. East Indies, p. 13.

* It is said of the Jesuits, that, perceiving the death of Jesus Christ to be a stumbling-block for human reason to get over, they thought it best to conceal that most essential part of the Christian religion, which relates to the death and sufferings of our Saviour.

Fabric. Lux Ev. cap. xxxix. p. 669

" future be suffered to propagate their law;" a decree, which, at the same time silenced the factions, and took away all further hope of spreading the Gospel amongst the people. Of the Jesuits, some few only, who were useful as mathematicians, were retained; the rest, with their converts, met with very severe treatment, and were banished into Tartary; and the only Christians still existing in the Empire, are such, as, disregarded by the people, and separated by mutual jealousies, perform a mixed worship to Chinese and Catholic Idols, and have little or no idea of the genuine precepts of Christianity*.

The practices adopted by this Society in other countries, were no less objectionable. La Croze writes, that they baptized the children of Mahomedans and Infidels, when they believed them to be at the point of death, and they could successfully conceal it from the eyes of their parents. The use and benefit of a discovery like this, may be perceived by mendicants and Jesuits, but cannot possibly entitle them to any credit amongst reasonable Christians. But with all their seeming humility, the Jesuits were not insensible to the charms of temporal greatness; they laboured as well for " l'etat temporel, que du spirituel," and their general sentiments cannot be better described than in the words of the author just quoted: " En un mot, pour ne pas m'etendre " d'avantage, il est certain, que la Politique agit autant, ou plus, dans

Hist. de Christianisme d'Armenie, Lib. IV. p. 395.

Vol. II. Liv. IV. p. 2, 3.

* Sonnerat has given a description of the views of the missionaries in general; but more especially of the Jesuits: after describing their learning, exemplary life, &c. he says of them—" Ils joignoient un relâchement de morale commode pour les con- " versions apparentes, une politique profonde qui rapportoit tout à sa propre gloire, et " une réunion des moyens capables de donner le fer à l'univers entier." Mr. Barrow says, that the present state of Christianity in China is perfectly hopeless. The Portuguese Seminaries are rich, but ignorant and jealous of all European influence. The French Jesuits, and the missions etrangères, are reduced to a most deplorable condition.

"China."

" les missions des Jesuits, que le désir d'etendre le Roïaume de " Dieu."

If this accusation be just, it is no wonder that they excited the suspicions of the Eastern Pagans, and were at length expelled from the greater part of Europe and America, even by the blindest of the Western Princes. In Siam and Japan a similar fate awaited their labours. Lewis the Fourteenth had, in 1684, sent an embassy to the King of Siam, courting his alliance, and inviting him to embrace the Christian faith. This Prince had then for his minister Constantine Faulkon, an intriguing Greek, who ruled both him and the people with despotic sway. The Jesuits, protected by Faulkon, with their usual zeal, built churches and monasteries, before there were many Christians to occupy them, and were making rapid strides to power, when the people and the Talapoins*, alarmed at their innovations, fell upon the Prince and his Minister, and put them to death. This embassy produced, therefore, no beneficial consequences to the French; and Christianity was held by the Siamese in the greatest abhorrence. Raynal's India, Vol. I.

The labours of the Romish Priests had been successfully employed in Japan† before the year 1529, and the Christian religion had

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* The Talapoins are solitary devotees, who preach the barbarous doctrines of their God Sommonocodam.

† The Japanese were divided principally into two sects, the Zintoists and the Budzoists. The former worshipped a Supreme Being, named *Amida*, and other inferior Deities and Saints. The latter also worshipped a kind of Mediator between God and mankind; and were distinguished from the sect of Zinto, by their austerities, devotions, and mortified habits. They represented their Gods as always offended, and always desirous to punish. This system had proportionate effects upon its votaries, and inclined them to the most barbarous ferocity of manners. Many of the severe penances enjoined by the Portuguese missionaries, assimilated with those of the Budzoists, and assisted them in procuring many proselytes. See Raynal's India, Vol. I. B. I. p. 108. Appendix.

made such rapid advances, as to threaten the total destruction of the Pagan superstitions, when its progress was arrested by one of those revolutions which baffle the councils of human wisdom. The Priests and Nobles rose against the Christians; the missionaries were expelled; and an edict was at length issued by the Emperor Jeijco, to extirpate those who had embraced the Christian faith. During the space of 40 years, the scaffolds were stained with the blood of Christian martyrs; and multitudes perished under the most aggravated tortures, glorying, even in their agonies, in the cause they had espoused.

A. D. 1615.

Historians have variously related the causes which led to this persecution. Some have ascribed it to the Dutch, who, jealous of the Catholic influence, were desirous of engrossing the trade of Japan: others, with more appearance of justice, have laid its foundation in the religious intrigues of the Jesuits, and the animosity existing between them and their adversaries, the Dominicans and Franciscans.

In Hindoostan, their desire to convert the natives was evinced, by their endeavours to make a greater appearance of conformity between Paganism and Christianity, than they had done in China. To what excesses this mistaken zeal has been since carried, we may form some idea, from a passage in the works of Sir William Jones: "Very respectable natives have assured me, that, one "or two missionaries have been absurd enough to urge, that the "Hindus were even now almost Christians, because their Brah-"ma, *Veeshnu*, and Máhésa, were no other than the Christian "Trinity, a sentence in which we can only doubt whether folly, "ignorance, or impiety predominates."

1 Disert. Asiat. Society, & Lord Teignmouth's Life of Sir W. Jones, Vol. II. p. 382. See Bernier des Gentils de l'Hindoostan.

In Kempfer's time, there were not above 50 Christians in Japan, and these were subject to continued persecutions. Their faith consisted, in the knowledge of the names of our Saviour and the Virgin Mary.

But, had the practices of the missionaries been far less exceptionable; had their efforts been solely directed by the love of the religion they professed; yet the great difficulty of acquiring a competent knowledge of the Eastern languages; the natural prejudices of the people; the jealousy of despotic power; and the opposition of a numerous priesthood, whose existence in a great measure depended upon the support of the ancient superstitions; were fully sufficient to have thwarted their success.

Besides the innocency of their lives, the mildness of their manners, their indulgence even of prejudices, when they did not militate against the general interests of Christianity, their indefatigable labours, their patience under afflictions, tortures, and death—qualities which gave a force and estimation to what they asserted above all human exceptions; the Apostles and early disciples were also assisted in their ministry, by the miraculous knowledge of languages, by powers and gifts which served to silence the Councils of their adversaries, and to prove the truth of their doctrine. "They stu- Hooker, Ecc. Pol.
"died indeed for no tongue, but they spoke with all; of them-
"selves they were rude, and knew not even how to premeditate;
"but the spirit gave them speech and eloquent utterance." St. Paul, though conversant in all the science of the age, made no useless parade of his learning, but what he said and taught was confirmed, "by the demonstration of the spirit and of power." The glory of God, and the good of the church were the objects which the Apostles aimed at, not private sectarial views; all was, therefore, conducted with simplicity, and meekness, and charity, without ambition, or the prospect of temporal aggrandizement.

Had the Christian religion been left by Divine Providence to be disseminated by its own rational force and intrinsic excellence, its progress would, in all probability, have been extremely slow! How little belief would the naked testimony of the Apostles, without

any other demonstration, have gained, while they were alive; or how would it have survived their death! How little would the plain unadorned language of a few poor and unlettered men have been able to contend with the philosophers and the Princes, who opposed its progress with all their wit and their authority! or how would they have sustained trials, afflictions, and torments, at which the imagination revolts, as beyond the power of human endurance, if the arm of the Most High had not supported and overshadowed them!

To those who have been brought up in the Christian religion, its material truths require no further confirmation; but by the nations of the world, who are yet under the violent and almost invincible prejudices of education in another creed, the relation of ancient miracles will not be readily admitted, because they are utterly strangers to the histories of the times when they happened, and consequently not so capable of judging of their credit and value. To them, other aids may in due time be furnished "by that Wisdom which is "not wont to do that which is superfluous, nor to be wanting in that "which is necessary. It may, therefore, piously be believed that "God would extraordinarily countenance such an attempt by all-"fitting assistance, as he did at the first publication of the Gospel, "when the Apostles testimony was armed with miracles, sufficient "for the conviction of the world, concerning those facts of which "they had been eye-witnesses, because the reason and necessity is "plainly the same in this case as it was at first."

Tillotson's Works.

But the Catholic missionaries, notwithstanding the objections raised against their doctrines, and the dislike in which they have been held, have still a respectable establishment in India; amid all the revolutions of the country, sacred property has not been violated; and divine service is still regularly performed in their churches, which are generally well attended. The zeal of conver-

Buchanan, Ecc. Est. p. 7.

sion has not, however, been very ardent during the last century, though the Catholic missions are numerous throughout Asia.

The civil wars in England, in the earlier part of the preceding century, had retarded the progress of the Society established for the propagation of the Gospel in 1647. Nor were its labours more successful in the reign of Charles II., though directed by the learning and eminent piety of Boyle. Its object was still too confined to be universally beneficial *, being limited to America, where, the English had planted extensive colonies, and which had not hitherto received any regular form of religious worship. The bounty of Sir Leolyne Jenkins, in establishing two fellowships in Jesus College, Oxford, for this express purpose, was seconded by William III. in the 13th year of his reign; and on the application of Archbishop Tennison, A. D. 1701. a charter was granted, and a society incorporated under the name of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Since that period, enriched both by royal and private benefactions, its exertions have been devoted to the instruction of the ignorant and unenlightened infidel in various quarters of the globe. The British Parliament has also borne honourable testimony to the sincerity of its wishes in the same cause; and the hope may be reasonably indulged, that, during this century, the gospel may be carried into regions at present enslaved by the grossest superstitions.

The interior of Africa was little known to modern Europe until the 18th century, and all attempts at discovery and improvement had hitherto been baffled. The maritime nations, who either traded with, or were subject to the Christian powers, had indeed received the missionaries with favour and indulgence; and some

* The church of Geneva, in 1556, sent missionaries into America. The Puritans contributed in a particular manner to civilize the natives, and introduce the gospel. All religious persuasions abound in what was British America, and the Quakers, more especially, have devoted themselves to the diffusion of their tenets among the Indians.

accounts have been handed down of the sudden conversion of nations and tribes, of the Kings of Benin and Awerri, and the Queen of Metamba and all her subjects in 1652*; but these great changes seem to have produced no permanent effects. The Catholic missionaries have, however, frequently attempted the conversion of the Africans; but the most successful exertions have been made by the members of the Protestant churches. From the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, some Moravian missionaries† have ventured into parts of the interior seldom visited by Europeans. The innocence of their manners, their laborious habits, the blending an active industry with religious duties, have given them a high rank and estimation even with the Bosjesmans‡ or wild Hottentots, and the Caffres; which, if it do not immediately eradicate the popular superstitions, has inspired the Africans with a greater confidence in men of a different complexion from themselves, and whom they have been long taught to consider in the light of plunderers and oppressors. To any religious creed they had before been strangers; for the Dutch, though they have been long in possession of the Cape§, appear to have set so little value upon the education of the natives,

Barrow's South. Africa, Vol. I. p. 351.

* The principal things required from the African converts by the Portuguese missionaries, were to repeat a Paternoster and Ave-Maria, and to bring offerings to the Priest. The inhabitants of Annaboa, an island in the gulf of Guinea, were thus converted.

† They are also called Hernhüters, from a village of Saxony, where, they found an asylum after their expulsion from Moravia.

‡ The Bosjesmans bear a strong resemblance in features to the Chinese; they are a docile and tractable people. The Caffres are a volatile race, and have hitherto turned into ridicule all attempts to convert them. Other missionaries of different societies have proceeded to the most distant parts of the colony, but the Moravians are most esteemed and respected. The settlers at the Cape are a mixture of Dutch, Germans, and French Huguenots, who, on the revocation of the Edict of Nantz, fled there for shelter.

§ A Dutch boor told Governor Jansen, on remonstrating with him on his cruelty

Barrow's South. Africa, p. 405.

or even of their own countrymen, that Mr. Barrow has assured us, that neither the government nor the church, nor their combined efforts, by persuasion or extortion, could raise a sum sufficient to establish a proper public school in the colony. Few of the inhabitants are enabled to send their children for education to Europe, and they, who have had this advantage, relapse generally, on their return, into the common habits of the colonists. Books are only to be obtained with the greatest difficulty; and the Moravian missionaries have but little encouragement under an indolent government *. In defiance, however, of all these obstacles, the number of proselytes among the Hottentots has increased to such a degree, that it has been found necessary to send to Europe for more teachers.

Barrow's South. Africa. Vol. II. p. 394. 429. 437.

Of the other Protestant powers in India, Denmark has made considerable exertions towards the promotion of the gospel. A mission liberally endowed was formed under the auspices of Frederic the Fourth; and since that period, ministers have been maintained at Tranquebar, the principal Danish settlement, who, supported at the king's expense, have, by their zeal, good conduct, and the learned accounts which they have published, highly attracted the public notice. They carried with them a press and workmen, and after having printed several small books on religion, both in the Malabar and Portuguese languages, they at length issued a translation of the New Testament in the same form.

A. D. 1706.

Fabric. Lux Evang. c. xxxiv.

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towards the Hottentots, that there could be no harm in maltreating those heathens, as the women evidently carried about with them the mark which God set upon Cain.

* They have practised upon the souls of their Pagan flocks by improving their worldly condition; and have dispersed, along with their preaching, the improvements of this present life, without which, men never will prepare for a life to come. The African Society, says the same author, has not reclaimed a single Bosjesman.

Barrow's South Africa, p. 379 to 381.

Before the year 1719, the whole Scriptures had been translated by the indefatigable labour of Mr. Schwartz, into the Tamul or Malabarian language *, and he had also composed a grammar and dictionary in the same dialect, which remains in use to this day. The names of this pious man, and of his fellow labourer Ziegenbalgius, are still endeared to the natives by the remembrance of their virtues, and by the eminent labours of their lives †. By their efforts and example, many Indians were induced to renounce the errors of their fathers; and along the coast, which, for several centuries past, has been peopled by Portuguese, *Armenian*, Greek, and Nestorian Christians, the Protestant opinions obtained a permanent footing.

Buchanan, Esp. Ecc. Est, p. 71-80.

See Appendix.

In the detail which has been given of the progress of Christianity, from its rise to the conclusion of the eighteenth century, many circumstances have been necessarily recounted, that may seem at first view to reflect upon it little honour: but it is the province of history to record the great events, which alter the face of empires, and arrest the notice of the world, rather than the peaceful virtues of domestic life, which find, in the midst of public convulsions, their best reward, in quiet and privacy. Although, however, the great features of history are chiefly occupied by the revolutions of empires occasioned by the depravation of public morals, it is not therefore to be supposed, that the practice of the moral virtues, as

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Sonnerat, Vol. I. c. iii.

* From the coast of Orissa to Cape Cormorin, and along the coast of Malabar to Cochin, the principal language spoken is the Tamul; and although there is some occasional deviation apparent in the character and pronunciation of other idioms in these parts, the Tamul is the root.

Observations on the East India Company.

† Major Scott Waring bears the highest testimony to the character of Mr. Schwartz, and of the regard in which he was held by the Rajah of Tanjore and the inhabitants of the country; yet the labours of thirty years produced few native converts.

heightened and illustrated in the Gospel, may not have existed in the periods which have been described, or have borne even a considerable proportion to the vices of the age; but it is the necessary consequence of the one to attract notoriety, of the other to seek the shelter of retirement. Few men like Scipio Africanus and Cato are recorded in the later Roman annals; but they describe many Syllas, Mariuses, and Antonies. When Christianity had been established throughout the Roman Empire, and the Pagan temples had been destroyed; when the divine interposition was withdrawn, and men were left to pursue their own opinions, without a constant recurrence to miraculous evidence, some deviation ensued from the pure precepts of the Evangelical Writings. It is also to be remembered, that many of the advocates of the gospel, after the two first ages, were men chiefly educated in the Grecian schools, who had imbibed a taste for all the subtleties and mysteries which in that age passed current for science; besides, that the corruption of the people kept pace with the increase of dominion, and the change of policy introduced by the removal of the seat of empire from Rome to Byzantium. The people naturally caught the infection of their superiors. The national manners became corrupt, the Roman discipline relaxed, and barbarian soldiers were introduced into the legions to defend the Roman frontiers against the incursions of their own countrymen. The advantage of tactics prevailed for a short time over physical strength; but the barbarians were at length taught discipline by defeat, and as the circle of the Empire lessened, the emperors and the people, insensible to their fate, plunged deeper into vice and effeminacy. In addition to these causes of decline, the Goths, the Vandals, and other barbarous tribes, who became Christians, had adopted the Arian opinions, and were thence as hostile to the Greeks, after their conversion, as they had been before. The civilized parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa, were successively overrun by the Germans and Scythians; the irrup-

tion of the Saracens and Tartars, and the baneful progress of the Crescent, completed the confusion of the times. Learning was banished to the cloister, where it found only a precarious asylum, and the only honourable profession was that of arms. When new kingdoms were founded in Europe by the victorious barbarians, more civilized habits were introduced; but it required a considerable time before former prejudices could be subdued. The ambition of the Popes, and the degradation of the Greek Patriarchs, favoured the general ignorance, and Europe seemed for many centuries to be hastening back to that barbarism, from which, it had been in some measure, rescued by the Roman government. But at the moment when all hope seemed extinguished, the progress of the Reformation awakened the public mind to inquiry, and Europe has since been rising to glory in every honourable acquirement.

As far as it is allowed to finite wisdom to explore the counsels of Omnipotence, some important conclusions may be drawn from these reflections. The page of sacred history, corroborated by the evidence of the best profane authors, informs us, that the first great manifestation of Providence, after the creation, was at the Flood, when the world was destroyed for the sins of its inhabitants; although a remnant was left in the family of Noah to bear testimony to the divine truth, and to transmit it, through its posterity, to the latest ages.

The Jewish theocracy, was the means, by which, this truth was more immediately preserved; and the dispersion of the Jews seems to have been ordained by Providence, that the evidence of their sacred books might be communicated to all nations, before the birth of the Messiah.

The Roman Empire was under the controul of Augustus, whose power was feared and respected by all the known world, when the Messiah appeared; and his religion, though variously persecuted, was immediately diffused through the empire, and thence spread into regions more remote. The persecution of its

enemies served only to increase the number of its converts: it was, besides, attended by such miraculous evidence, as could not be controverted either by force or argument.

Miracles appear to have ceased when human efforts were sufficient for the support of Christianity. The Roman Empire renounced the Pagan worship under Constantine; and the barbarous nations of Europe and Scythia were successively induced to follow its example.

Mahomedanism was the great obstacle to its further progress; but the Koran, besides the valour of its early followers, owed its success to some resemblances which it bore to Christianity, rather than the virtues of its professors, or the excellence of its principal tenets. It seemed, as it were, designed as a punishment upon the Christians for their heresies and dissensions. Sale's Koran.

Of the three principal religions at present prevailing in the world, Mahomedanism seems to occupy a larger space than Christianity, and Paganism a greater, than either. But let not such an appearance detract from the excellence of the Gospel, or induce a belief, that because it has made but little progress over idolatry or Mahomedanism during the last ten centuries, that the religion ordained by Providence will not be more successful hereafter, when cultivated on a more liberal and enlightened scale.

It is not because Christianity is less beneficial to the interests of mankind than it was during the first three centuries, when nations, professed it, whose names are now scarcely recognized, that it has not enlarged its borders in the eastern world. Independent of America, (a world unknown to the ancients, in which the Christian religion will probably in the course of the present century be more fully diffused,) the state of those immense regions of Africa, Tartary*, and India, where millions of Pagans still exist,

* The Russians, who, from the reign of Peter the Great, have rapidly arisen from the deepest ignorance into honour and reputation, ought not to be omitted in the then-

and who perhaps exist so, only from their ignorance of a purer system, is an object that deserves the serious consideration of every reflecting mind.

Laying aside the Mahomedan, whose religion appears to be daily losing ground, even in the regions more peculiarly subject to his influence; and considering the Pagan only, whose numbers, both in Asia and Africa *, are infinitely superior, there is an abundant field for hope and for exertion. But until some more reasonable plan shall have been adopted for the civilization of Africa, until those barbarous practices have been abolished which have so long disgraced the civilized nations of Europe †, little more can be expected from the most zealous exertions, but a partial conversion of the natives.

In the East, the case appears far otherwise. The conquests of the British nation have reduced under its power a tract of country abounding in inhabitants, who, whatever may have been their original tenets, seem to profess at present the grossest idolatry; and who, from the long want of a regular government, and a wise system of public instruction, have in many respects degenerated into a savage state. The influence which Great Britain has acquired in this quarter

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tion of those nations who have benefited the world by the diffusion of Christianity. The discoveries which have been made throughout this great empire have been benevolently directed to the improvement of the rude natives under its dominion; and the inhabitants of Siberia, Kamskatcha, and the Kurile Isles, in renouncing in some measure the barbarous customs of their fathers, have been taught to respect the habits of civilized life, and to look with reverence upon the precepts of the Gospel.

The Tartars who wander from the Don to Orenburg, and independent Tartary, are principally Pagans.

* If we consider China, Japan, and the islands of the Eastern and Pacific Oceans, the Korea, Thibet, Tartary, the Birman Empire, Tonquin and Cochin-China, Hindoostan, and Africa.

† Since this was written, the Slave trade has been abolished in England, and it may be hoped that the legislature will not stop here, but pursue the path it has so nobly entered upon, in a more liberal conduct, towards a sister kingdom.

of the globe, may be in some measure calculated, by the extent of country subject to her controul.

If the possession of this influence in India has proved of high political advantage, the best requital that can be made, and we are bound to it by every tie of religion and of gratitude, is to return it in benefits to the natives. If the bounty of Providence have concurred in bestowing upon Great Britain a rich and fertile country, its gifts should be used with discretion, and applied to those purposes for which they seem to have been designed. The eastern nations are idolators. We have the light and the evidence of Divine truth. By protecting them from injury, we increase their attachment to our government; by inculcating on their minds a purer system of religion, we communicate to them the best share of our own advantages, and build our power upon a basis that cannot be shaken. On every side our eastern empire is surrounded with Pagan or Mahomedan nations. They may not be averse to truth, if it can be unfolded to them in a way not immediately repugnant to their feelings. If they see in the example of their conquerors the elements of the religion they profess, they will be inclined to think it true, and adopt it for its intrinsic excellence. The influence of such an example will rise superior to every prejudice; the circle of converts will increase, as the benefits of the British government and religion shall be felt; and thus, under the protection of Providence, there is the firmest ground for hope that the British nation, may be its instrument, to diffuse over India, China, and the remotest corners of Asia, the blessings of freedom with the faith of Christ.

CHAP. XIII.

OBSTACLES TO THE CONVERSION OF THE NATIVES OF HINDOOSTAN.

If, however, the means possessed by the British and other Protestant powers for the conversion of the natives of India are so obvious, how has it happened that they have not hitherto been more successful? For the defect can arise from no other causes than the want of power, or of inclination. It is said, that any change in the manners of the people, can only be effected by the British Government employing the influence it has acquired by its conquests in the East to the purpose of introducing the gospel. Some writers, however, aware of the danger of any interference with long established prejudices, and grounding their opinions on the effects of climate, and the moral habits and character of the people, have asserted, that a change from Mohamedanism or Paganism to Christianity, is improbable, if not impossible: whilst others, impelled by a laudable zeal, did it not materially affect the political relations of their country, insist, that the spreading the Gospel amongst the idolatrous nations of India, is not only a measure of urgent necessity, but of paramount obligation. The partizans of these opinions have endeavoured to accelerate this event by missionary establishments, and have been loud in their accusations against the government, for what they have termed, its long and criminal negligence.

To enter into any controversy upon a point which every Englishman, and above all, every Christian must have sincerely at heart, is far from being the object of the present work. Its design being only

to state the objections that all reasonable men have urged against any sudden interference with "the established customs of a country "which have acquired a degree of veneration, and are rendered "sacred by their connection with religion, the rites of which are "interwoven with the ordinary occurrences of life;" and from a full consideration of the subject, to draw some conclusions as to the eventual conversion of the natives. Rennel, Mem. M. H. p. 27.

The destruction of the Hindoo temples, with their priests and votaries, appears to have the first object with Mahmoud of Gazna. Supposing himself to be the agent of the Divinity, the cruelties he inflicted upon the Hindus instead of wounding his conscience, rather flattered his pride, and increased his glory in the eyes of his zealous followers. His frequent irruptions into Hindoostan seem to have been as much directed by his zeal for Islam as his love of plunder; for he had made a solemn vow, that if ever he succeeded to the empire, and was blessed with the favour of Heaven, he would follow his father's fortunes, and direct his whole force to the extirpation of the Hindoo idols. The revered temple of Naugracut, Tannasar, Mathura—the birth-place of their favourite Creeshna, and the immense treasures of Sumnaut, were either pillaged or subverted; the idols were mutilated or destroyed; and the Mussulmen soldiers, fighting under the conviction, that the overthrow of idolatry was an effectual passport to heaven, massacred, without pity, the priests and the people who dared to resist or remonstrate. Maurice, M. H. H. Vol. I. p. 243.

In the continual wars carried on by the Gaznevide and Gaurian Princes against Hindoostan, and under the tyrannous government of the Patan emperors, the same excesses were committed, and the same advantages held out to the licentious soldiery; but except some of the rude mountaineers, and among these the Gickers, who inhabited the tract from the Nilab to the Sewalic mountains, few of the Hindoos were induced, either by the terrors or persuasions

of the invaders, to renounce the religion of their fathers. The Gickers had been long the severest scourge to the Mussulmen; but
A. D. 1205. living in the rudest state of savage nature, and having few religious rites of their own, they felt little compunction at the change, and were induced by the presents of one of the Gaurian Princes, to follow the example of their neighbours of Gazna, and adopt the Mahomedan faith. The simple creed of the Koran, as proposed to its converts by its first disciples, was, "There is only one God, and "Mahomed is the Apostle of God." The pronouncing only this holy sentence instantly converted a foe into a friend, and raised the meanest slave into the rank of a brother. The temptation to uncivilized nations was too powerful to be resisted, and the passions of hope and fear were thus irresistibly awakened. The fidelity and attachment of the proselyte were also inviolably secured by the sentence of the Koran, which proclaimed temporal and eternal death to those who relapsed into their former errors.

Tamerlane acted upon the principles of Mahmoud, and traced his progress in the blood of the Hindus. But, for the alleviation of their
Rennel, M. M. Hindostan, p. 46. misfortunes, the enthusiasm of Mahomedanism had lost "its edge "before the invasion of Nadir Shah, or the scene of his conquests "would have remained a solitary desert." The cruel spirit of Aurungzebe had led him to attempt the conversion of the Hindus throughout the Empire, and perhaps the hope of palliating in the eyes of his Mahomedan subjects, the crimes by which he had usurped the throne, was an additional incentive to his natural bigotry; but a few petty Rajahs "were alone lured from their national faith, by "the prospect of better appointments. The people clang to their "Pagodas, and the cruelties inflicted on their Priests served only to "increase the spirit of martyrdom." During the continuance of this religious war, "labour left the field, and industry the loom:" the decrease of the revenues at length brought the tyrant to his
Orme's Historical Fragments. reason, and "a *capitation tax was substituted as the balance of the*

"*accounts between the two religions;*" yet even this tax laid upon "the lower orders of the Hindus, with circumstances of peculiar "severity*, could prevail upon few to barter their faith for the "exemption, and thousands perished under the oppression."

Since the time that the East India Company became a sovereign power in Hindoostan, the English Government has cautiously avoided all interference with the religious opinions of the natives; and so far from having ever entertained the wild idea of compelling them to embrace Christianity, has confirmed their privileges by repeated sanctions. In 1781, in an important case between the Governor, and Council, and the Supreme Court of Justice of Bengal, the Legislature, the East India Company, and the nation at large, appear to have had but one opinion on the subject; "that any "attempt to interfere with the religion, the laws, or local customs "of India, must inevitably tend to the destruction of the British "power; and that the people of India were entitled, upon every "principle of justice, as well as policy, to the full enjoyment of "their own religion, laws, and customs." Debrett's Debates.

In 1793, when a bill was pending in the House of Commons, for the renewal of the Company's charter, two clauses, proposed by Mr. Wilberforce, for the establishment of free-schools throughout India, and the appointment of missionaries, for the purposes of civilizing and converting the natives, were negatived, after a full discussion: and in the House of Lords, the same clauses, under the patronage of the Bishop of London, experienced a similar fate. In

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* There are some provinces in India (says Tavernier) that lie waste, the natives being forced to fly by reason of the cruelty of their Governors. Under the pretence of being Mahomedans, they persecute the poor Idolaters without measure, and if any of them embrace Mahomedanism, it is only because they will not work any longer. Many of the Indian Faquirs were of this number. Travels in Ind. Part II. B. II.

See Major Scott Waring's Observations, xiii. and Reply, p. 104.

the debate which arose on this measure, the Bishop of St. Asaph pleaded that the religion, laws, or local customs of the people of India, were so interwoven one with the other, that it would be impossible to separate them. He urged, that it was inconsistent with every notion of justice and good policy to interfere with the religious observances of the people, the free exercise of which the Government was bound to protect; and that even the obligation, said to be so incumbent upon Christians, to promote their faith throughout the world, had ceased with the supernatural gifts which attended the commission of the Apostles.

It has been shewn, that the wisest of the Mogul Princes either revered the prejudices of the people, or were persuaded of the impossibility of altering them. What force and persecution could effect, had frequently been attempted by others, who, to religious zeal added a total disregard to the feelings of their subjects. The Hindoo continued still faithful in his attachment; and however he was oppressed or persecuted, his prejudices in this respect were unsubdued. "India "is an Empire acquired by British valour, and must be retained by "skill in the cabinet and the field." The people of India are British subjects, and, under that name, have a right to the free enjoyment of their religion, laws, and customs. "The Hindoo religion has been "the religion of India for 2000 years at the least, probably for a "much longer period." Its antiquity entitles it to respect; and the general mildness of its followers claims the indulgence of the conqueror. The most distinguished English residents in that country have followed this course. Mr. Hastings was an eminent patron of Mahomedan and Hindoo learning, and protected alike the followers of the Koran and the Sastra. Lord Cornwallis also, during his administration, evinced, in every possible way, the same anxiety and respect for their religious opinions and local customs.

Whatever may be the general merit of Lord Wellesley's political

career, his conduct was in this respect highly meritorious; for, in his dispatches to the President of Oude, he strictly enjoins that the "necessary steps should be taken for affording the people of the ceded "districts the most ample satisfaction on the subject of their reli-"gion;" and he inquires, "in what way the great public endow-"ments, either Hindoo or Mahomedan, may be confirmed or ex-"tended." Other instances might also be adduced, where, the care of the Government has been especially directed to the same end.

It is observed by those who have long resided in Hindoostan, that the national prejudices, so far from having undergone any change by the various revolutions of the country, continue at present as strong as ever; and that the Catholic religion was not more fully fixed in the minds of its most zealous votaries, in the fifteenth century, than the Koran and the Sastras* are in those of the Hindoo or the Moslem.

The matured opinion of Sir William Jones upon this subject has been already stated, and it has been confirmed by the evidence of those who seem to have the best knowledge on the subject. If indeed no other material obstacle interfered with the habits of the people, the dread of losing their caste, which would be an unavoidable consequence of renouncing their faith, must prove an insuperable difficulty with those who might be otherwise desirous of hearing the Gospel. For what is life, when deprived of all the comforts that can endear us to it? The Hindus are told in the Gheeta, "that the fame of one who "hath been respected in the world, is extended even beyond the "dissolution of the body." That a man should on no account enter "into any connection with one who hath departed from the faith;" "for although he be bound by treaty, he will, because of his own

* The Sastras are the component chapters of the Veda, or Hindoo Scriptures.

" unrighteousness, break his engagement." In the Book of Menu he is told that such codes of law as are " not grounded on the Veda, " produce no good fruit after death, and have their basis in dark- " ness. All systems, therefore, repugnant to it, must have been " composed by mortals, and shall soon perish." A man's " own " religion is better than the faith of another man, be it ever so well " followed; it is good to die in one's own faith, for another's faith " beareth fear." It is also declared, in their Sastras, that " the " reading of Books of any other religion" is a sin of the third degree, and equal in enormity to a breach of hospitality, " the selling " of a wife or a son," the murder of a man " or of a woman."

It may perhaps be objected, that these injunctions have been made for the artful purpose of favouring the usurpation of the Brahmins; and the objection may be founded in truth; but it is of little importance whence the marked aversion of the Hindoo to other creeds arose, so long as it is found to operate effectually against all attempt at innovation. The evidence of Mr. Verelst, before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1781, confirmed, in the fullest sense, the general opinion upon this subject. " For their religious institutions " and rites, of which they are so tenacious, are not confined to their " places of worship, but *extend to every occurrence of life.*" In the several witnesses who were then examined, the same degree of consistency and uniformity prevailed on the customs, manners, and disposition of the people; and the only perceptible change, since that period, is, that instead of holding a few provinces, the East India Company are now the acknowledged sovereigns of Hindoostan.

Major Scott Waring has been at considerable pains* to compare

* See his two pamphlets—Observations on the present State of the East India Company, and a Reply to Observations, 1808: and Vindication of the Hindoos, by a Bengal Officer.

the various opinions on this subject, and the conclusion he draws is, that " by *human means it is impossible*" to induce the natives to abandon the religion of their forefathers; and that the conversion of such a population can alone be effected by the immediate interposition of the Almighty.

Much has been said and written upon the moral habits of the natives of India. The people have been alternately vilified and exalted, and their religion has been equally praised and defamed. The representation, however, given of them by Mr. Maurice, places their character in a favourable point of view; and the opinion is not disputed by those, whose information on Eastern topics, is the most to be relied upon. " They are no less ardent in the love of their coun- M. H. Hind. Vol. I. p. 6.
" try, than zealous in their attachment to the institutions of their
" forefathers. In domestic life, they are tender and affectionate,
" and in their morals for the most part unsullied." Abulfazil, whose situation and pursuits gave him the best opportunity of appreciating their moral character, speaks of them " as being courteous, kind, Ayeen Akberry.
" cheerful, enamoured of knowledge, lovers of justice, admirers of
" truth, and of unbounded fidelity in all their dealings. Their
" character shines brightest in adversity: they have great respect for
" their tutors; they make no account of their lives, when they can
" devote them to the service of God."

The religion also of the Hindus, though mixed with many absurd and superstitious ceremonies, is not destitute of beauty, and in many parts seems to inculcate the sublimest notions of the perfections of the Deity, and of the obligations of men to be holy and virtuous. The Veda declares the knowledge of one God to be the sublimest of all sciences, because it insures immortality; that the Supreme Intelligence is sovereign Lord of all creatures; " that he is a Spirit by
" no means the object of sense. The sinful," says Menu, " have
" said in their hearts, " None see us." Yes, the Gods distinctly see
" them; and so does the spirit within their breasts." It inculcates a

firm belief in a future state of reward and punishment: " it " threatens a man contaminated by sensuality, that neither the " Vedas, nor liberality, nor sacrifices, nor strict observances, nor " pious austerities, can ever procure felicity." A wise man should constantly " discharge all the moral duties, though he perform not " constantly the ceremonies of religion; since he falls low, if, while " he performs ceremonial acts only, he discharges not his moral du- " ties." It is indeed true, that in too many instances ceremonial acts have usurped a preference over the moral duties; but the Hindoo is no more singular in this respect, than some Catholics have been for ages, and many other professed Christians are at this day. The corruption of the best things generally leads to the worst consequences; and the notion impressed upon the mind of the Hindoo, as it was upon that of the first Eremites, that devotion can only flow from abstraction, has led him to the practice of austerities, of which history has recorded instances*, almost beyond the range of credibility.

The meanest Hindoo has at present a firm belief in a future state, and knows that as man is born " and dies single, the pu- " nishment of his evil, or the reward of his good deeds, will be " single also." With such notions, our astonishment may be the more excited, that any difficulty should exist in leading him to the adoption of the Gospel, which enforces the same and greater truths, without any intermixture of superstition. The Hindus indeed have the same opinion of our Saviour at this time, as they had in the days of Bernier; and do not mention his name without a marked reverence.

Creeshna, whose romantic character and history are said by some writers, to have been compiled from the spurious Gospels formerly abounding in the East, tells Arjoon, " that they who worship the

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* See Tavernier's Indian Travels, Part II. Book III. Plates on the Penances of the Faquirs, &c.

" Deïtas (or the images of the Deities), go unto them, and they " who worship me alone, go unto me." Abulfazil says, that the Hindus were by no means Idolaters, and that the reverence they paid to the image, was to assist their addresses to the Deity, and to prevent their thoughts from wandering. The ancient and the modern Persians defend their practice upon the same plea. " In Angelis " itaq. tam Nominum, quam exteriorum formarum, assumptio est, " tantùm in accommodationem ad captum humanum." Their prostrations and invocations were not a divine adoration of the object, but a mere civil observance, in aid of human weakness. Creeshna tells Arjoon," that, they also who serve other Gods with a firm belief, " in doing so, involuntarily worship even me. I am he who par- " taketh of all worship, and I am their reward." Their frequent Avatars, or appearances of the Deity in the human form, incline them also to speak favourably of the religion of the Gospel. They do not dispute the divinity of Christ; " the Deity has often come, (they say) " and will come again; and thus I appear (says Creeshna) " from age to age, for the preservation of the just, the destruction " of the wicked, and the establishment of virtue." Hyde, Rel. Vet. Persar.

Sentiments like these, when their connection is remembered with the numerous local customs of the people, if they incline them to look with less severity upon the opinions of others, are a principal objection to any change in their own. Nothing was a greater obstacle to the progress of Christianity in the first century, than the adherence of the Jews to their national customs, which, they considered, to be endangered by the doctrine of our Saviour and his disciples. Many of these customs were not good from any intrinsic virtue of their own, nor were they wrong, except when they were allowed to interfere with the practice of more important duties. Some of them were intended to abate the physical effects of climate upon the constitution, and were not, therefore, abrogated by Christianity, which left them just as it had found them. In the

same manner, many of the local customs and purificatory rites of the Hindus might be innocently allowed them, without at all interfering with the spirit and integrity of the Gospel; and this would be a full answer to the objection of those who have urged climate as an invincible bar against the progress of Christianity in the East: for had climate prescribed the bounds of the Christian and Mahomedan faith, we should not see, as we do at present, so many exceptions to the rule. The Koran "spoke only by the sword, and acts still upon "men with that destructive violence with which it was founded." The Mahomedan successes in Hindoostan and other countries, gave a supremacy to the religion of the conqueror; but remove the influence by which that supremacy was obtained, and the religion itself will probably fall to the ground.

Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, Book XXIV.

Ibid. c. iv.

The Christian religion did not, like the Koran, affect to regulate the interior arrangements of Governments; it meddled not with the affairs of states and kingdoms, and by its moral sanctions was, therefore, qualified for universal acceptation. The Hindoo and the Mussulman might be safely tolerated in all those national prejudices which have no effect upon their faith or practice: but then who is to point out the line of their practice, or to define the marks where truth ceases and error begins? Is a task of this description to be entrusted either to the ignorant, or the zealot? By no means: in one case, it would only serve to countenance idolatry; in the other, to close every avenue to future conversion. Both the Mahomedan and the Hindoo law contain many rites which are in themselves harmless, and were probably ordained, because they were necessary to the climate and the habits of the people. In this respect, indeed, it would be absurd to interfere with them. It remains, therefore, only to inquire how far it may be possible to lead them over to the Christian profession; an object, without doubt, every way worthy of our consideration.

The history of the world informs us, that barbarous and savage

nations principally employed in war or the chace, are easily induced to change their religion; but in a country long civilized, and endowed with splendid monuments of ancient reverence, and a numerous priesthood, interested in securing this respect, any change in its religious forms is generally resisted as a violation of the constitution of the State. "To reform some corruptions which may have spread in a religion, or to make new regulations in it, is not, perhaps, so hard, when the main and principal parts of that religion are preserved entire and unshaken; and yet this very often cannot be accomplished without an extraordinary concurrence of circumstances, and may be attempted a thousand times without success. But to introduce a new faith, a new way of thinking and acting, and to persuade many nations to quit the religion in which their ancestors had lived and died, which had been delivered down to them from time immemorial, to make them forsake and despise the Deities which they had been accustomed to reverence and worship—this is a work of still greater difficulty. The resistance of education, worldly policy, and superstition, is almost invincible." Jortin's Dissertation on the Christian Rel.

The Catholic faith, which prescribed vows of virginity, auricular confession, extreme unction, the marriage of only one wife, and the absolute jurisdiction of the Pope, appeared to overturn the manners and customs of the Chinese, and at one blow to strike at their religion and laws. "By the establishment of charity, by a public worship, by a participation of the same Sacraments, the Christian religion demanded that all should be united, while the rites of China seemed to ordain that all should be separated. For, the Christian religion is a stranger to mere despotic power, the mildness so frequently recommended in the Gospel is incompatible with the despotic rage, with which a Prince punishes his subjects, and exercises himself in cruelty." If any inference could be drawn from the analogy between the religion of a people and the Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, B. XIX. c. xix. Ibid. B. XXIV. c. iii.

climate under which they lived, the Catholic religion might perhaps be most congenial with a despotic Government. Yet how few have been its proselytes in the East. The first Apostles conquered the greatest difficulties, and soon spread the Gospel through the world; but they were not the mere advocates of any particular creed, and were assisted in their labours by the power they possessed of working miracles in confirmation of their doctrines. The evidence of a Divine influence prevailed over the strength of particular prejudices, and they seldom preached without reaping the fullest benefit from their labours. "The Christian religion, in the most early times, was "proposed to the Jews and Heathens, without the article of Christ's "divinity, which Erasmus accounted for by its being too strong a "meat for babes." The Jesuits were aware of this difficulty, and had recourse to miracles, in order to compel men to assent to their doctrines; but, like the extraordinary powers claimed by the Jansenists, they seem not entitled to the credit of reasonable men.

Swift, Thoughts on Religion.

In the opinion, however, of those who urge the possibility of the conversion of the Hindus, its present failure is rather to be ascribed to the inattention of the Government, than a want of inclination in the people. They begin with asserting their present degraded state, and describe them as a people "whose ignorance "and apathy are so extreme, that no means of instruction will give "them serious offence, except positive violence." "That the "British nation has a heavy arrear to discharge with the Hindus, "that if our guilt be measured by the importance of the duty ne-"glected, the *magnitude of the means*, and the urgency of the "motives, we may well tremble for the consequences of our eastern "responsibility;" that it is by no means submitted to our judgment, or to our notions of policy, whether we shall embrace the means of imparting Christian knowledge to our subjects or not, any more than it is submitted to a Christian father "whether he shall "choose to instruct his family or not;" that "a wise policy seems

Buchanan, Esp. Acc. Est.

"to demand that we should use every means of coercing this con-
" temptuous spirit of our *native subjects* *," and "chastise the Buchanan, Esp. Ecc. Est. p. 31.
" enormity of their superstition at the fountain head."

Happy indeed will it be for the British nation if its conquests in India shall prove the means of promoting the temporal happiness of the natives! Happier still, if its prudent exertions shall have the effect of giving them a taste for higher enjoyments, and of leading them from the contemplation of the perfections of their Brahma, their Veeshnu, and Seeva, to the knowledge of that perfect system revealed in the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

Coercion indeed could not be attempted upon any principle of reason or of justice, if the absurdity did not sufficiently appear of compelling 50 millions of people to adopt the creed of 30,000—the utmost population of the English residents. But the means of eventually bringing about, under the superintendance of Providence, an event so desirable, is of itself a sufficient motive to encourage inquiry, and to animate the pursuit of every one who feels interested in the welfare of his fellow-creatures; more especially if we consider this life as a state of probation to a better; and that the world in general is only one vast stage, where a multitude of beings are variously engaged in offering homage to their Maker, and in endeavouring, by suitable services, to propitiate his favour. The mercy of the Most High is "over all his works, and divines of all sorts have per-
" haps too much lessened that mercy by confining the rule of ortho-
" doxy within the compass of subtleties, niceties, and distinctions,
" which have little warrant from Scripture, and less from reason or
" good policy." Swift, Thoughts on Religion.

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* Meaning the Mahomedans in Hindoostan.

CHAP. XIV.

OBLIGATIONS IMPOSED BY CHRISTIANITY ON ITS PROFESSORS—MEANS POSSESSED BY THE SPANIARDS AND PORTUGUESE OF INTRODUCING THE GOSPEL IN THEIR DISCOVERIES IN THE OLD AND NEW WORLD—HOW FAR THE SAME MEANS ARE IN THE POWER OF GREAT BRITAIN.

The importance of Christianity appears not only as it is a promulgation of the law of nature, "but a more authoritative declara-"tion of it, with new light, and other circumstances of peculiar "advantage adapted to the wants of mankind." As the nature of "the case therefore requires, so all Christians are commanded to "contribute, by their profession of Christianity, to preserve it in the "world, and render it such by a promulgation and enforcement of "religion." "The light of reason does not any more than that of "revelation, compel men to submit to its authority. Both admonish "them of what they ought to do and avoid, together with the conse-"quences of each; and after this, leave them at full liberty to act "as they please, until the appointed time of judgment. Every "moment's experience shews that this is God's general rule of go-"vernment." In a practical sense, we are, therefore, bound not only not to disregard or neglect it, but to continue "the benefits we "have received from it to the world, and transmit them down to "future times."

Butler's Anal. Part II. c. i.

To exhibit the sincerity of his belief in the actions of a good life, is in the power of every professor of the Christian religion, as much as it was in the power of those, who lived under the light of nature, to act according to the dictates of that light, divested of the preju-

dices of the age they lived in. The difficulty, in the first instance, consists in complying with a standard so perfect; in the next, of communicating to others the same feeling and zeal for those opinions which seem to regulate individual conduct. It is not possible, in the present state of the world, to expect miracles to assist us in the accomplishment of such a purpose. "Many good men have indeed "thought that supernatural powers would be still bestowed on the "teachers of barbarous nations; but this seems rash, for the first "propagation of the Gospel was very different from the spreading "of it at present. Besides, we cannot, on any occasion, point out "the expedients of Divine Government beforehand, though we ad-"mire them when they are past." Hey's Theol. Lectures. But if it would be vain to expect at present the exertion of a power contrary to the common course of nature, barbarous or Heathen nations may be taught to prefer the Christian religion to their own; by its juster apprehensions of the Deity; by its purer and simpler worship; by the display of its hopes and fears with relation to another state; and how suitable they are to the attributes of God and the nature of man. The purity of this faith may be shewn in that inward holiness that is formed in the mind, and that spreads itself through all the thoughts and designs, as well as through all the words and actions; it may be shewn how perfect and amiable a thing this inward and uniform virtue is, and what wonderful effects it must produce on mankind where it is received, by rendering them not only safe, but happy in their mutual confidence and love of one another.

These are things which fall within the compass of the plainest understandings, nor can they, in the end, fail to produce the most important consequences. The most lively representation that can be made of the truth and excellency of religion is, when it abounds in works of piety and virtue, and this will engage a reverence for it, and a respect for its followers, when all formal professions will be disregarded. For the actions of a good life are an appeal to the

senses of mankind, and the best method by which they can be taught to adopt a purer worship.

The chief strength of the first apologists for Christianity lay in the appeals that they made to the Heathen world, concerning the change that was visible in those who became Christians; in their justice and probity, their humility and sobriety, and, above all things, in their mutual love of one another. The appeal was so forcible and evident, that two of the greatest enemies of Christianity could not deny it. To persuade, therefore, other nations, and more especially the Hindus, to follow the Christian religion, and to wean them from their national superstitions, the same example must be followed, and a correspondence must be seen in the lives of its teachers and followers, with the tenour of its doctrines: for men will only be more strongly fortified in their prejudices against a religion, when they perceive that the great body of its professors act directly contrary to its plain and express injunctions.

Lucian, Julian.

On the discovery of the western world*, as well as of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, a new scene opened to

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Robertson's Amer. Vol. III. B. VIII. n. xliii. to p. 258.

* The first Spanish conquerors, in order to justify their cruelties to the natives, described them as incapable of being formed to the offices of civil life, and of comprehending the doctrines of religion. They contended that the Americans were a subordinate race of men, on whom the hand of Nature had set the mark of servitude.

Ibid. p. 301.

Paul III. in a famous bull, 1537, declared them to be rational creatures, and entitled to all the privileges of Christians.

Some writers have accused the Ecclesiastics of animating their countrymen to the slaughter of those whom they called impious Idolaters; but Robertson defends them, and pleads that the clergy, both regular and secular, though illiterate, were the guardians and defenders of the Indians from the exactions to which they were exposed, and are still considered so by the natives. As to the impropriety of the means adopted for their conversion, there can be but one opinion; and if Isabella and the Spanish monarchs can be exculpated from the charge of the enormities committed in America, it cannot remove the foul stain from the Spanish character.

Europe, and these great discoveries might have been made useful not only in a political but in a religious point of view. There can be no doubt that, under proper direction, the means afforded for the conversion of the natives were fully adequate. The ignorant Americans, struck with admiration of their new masters, and inclined to an entire submission to them in all things, might have been easily induced to adopt the Christian faith: for, before they had been goaded by tyranny and persecution, they were of a mild and tractable disposition, and endowed with all those good qualities which fitted them for the reception of the Gospel. When the missionaries came first among them, they were received as messengers from Heaven, and the people were willingly baptized; but the Christianity thus offered them consisted more in forms and opinions, than in any moral instruction.

The same, as far as their power extended, was their practice in the East. At the desire of Akber, Francis Xavier composed a Gospel, whose two chief points were, the advancing the Supremacy of the Pope, and the adoration of the Virgin Mary. Xavier seems to have known no other Gospel than the Breviaries and Legends of the Roman Church, or if he had read the Scriptures, he appears to have either mistaken or misrepresented their meaning. The principal object of the missionaries was the extension of the Papal power, as the legal depositary of Christ's authority upon earth, both in spiritual and temporal matters, over all men, whether believers or Infidels. Acosta, who was an eye-witness of these facts, has given a faithful, though melancholy, picture of their conduct*. "There

* It is justly remarked, that though America has been in possession of the Spaniards more than two centuries, the accession of the natives to Christianity is still rather nominal, than real. Their intellect is still accused as an insuperable defect;

Acosta de procur. Indor. salute. B. IV. c. vii.

" were many Priests who thought they had acquitted themselves " very well when they had taught the natives the Lord's Prayer, " the Creed, and the Salutation, in Spanish, which the Indian " no more understood, than the Spaniard understood the In- " dian;" and if the Priest, which is a rare thing, was acquainted with the Indian tongue, he never " explained to them the " mysteries of Christianity."

And yet the Indians were persecuted both in America and India, because they would not renounce Idolatry; and, by torments, were compelled to become Christians, although they scarcely knew a single article of the Christian faith! Well then might they exclaim, " that the God of the Christians was the worst of Gods, because " his worshippers were the worst of men; or what better name " could they bestow upon its professors than Yares, that is, Devils*." If the Ministers were thus degenerate, what benefits could be expected from their labours? It was only the " mores cum fide con- " gruentes," the manners agreeing with their faith, that could effectually promote the Gospel.

Fabric. Lux Evang. c. xxxv.

It has long been made an objection against us, by the Church of Rome, that however numerous our other charities, we were materially deficient in this great part of them, in taking no care to convert

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Robertson's America, Vol. III. B. VIII. sparsim.

but it does not spring in effect from this cause, but from the general neglect of their education, or what is, perhaps, worse, from the improper measures pursued in it. This neglect is visible in the European dominions of Spain; and less surprise ought therefore to be excited at its conduct in the West. The converts to Christianity in America were at first ignorantly instructed, and, like the Chinese Christians, they still retain an open, or a secret reverence, for the idolatries of their fathers.

* In Hispaniola, the Spaniards set up gibbets, and hanged thirteen Indians, in honour (as they blasphemously expressed themselves) of Christ and his Twelve Apostles.—See the Sermons preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign Parts, 1704 to 1710.

the Heathens, with whom we either conversed or traded, or even to preserve a proper sense of religion among our own people. In support of this charge, it has been urged, "Where are the numbers you have converted to the Christian faith? Where the "fruits of your religion, when you have under your care those "vast dominions which are called the English Empire in the East, "and whence you draw such immense resources?" The charge might perhaps be justly retorted on the accusers, but recriminations are at best but a kind of confession of guilt, and the most candid way will therefore be to consider how far the censure is applicable to the present case.

In this age of the world, without expecting any supernatural evidence of the truth of Christianity, the success of the design must depend upon the due use of human means, upon rational evidence, and the Divine blessing. Christians cannot now, like St. Paul, or Barnabas, look for visions, divine calls, or immediate directions; they carry no such miraculous powers along with them as the gift of tongues; they have neither the seas nor the winds to attend and bear them directly along to the country they are designed for; nor are the powers of nature obedient to their controul. The Deity does not appear to work at present by miracles: "He converts no "man immediately from heaven, but sends him to the means, as "he sent Cornelius to Peter."

The Eastern world, it is asserted, still sits in darkness and the shadow of death; the people are described as ignorant, vicious, and idolatrous; yet we must acknowledge that the Gospel brings the glad *tidings of peace and salvation* to all men. Their wants are similar to those of other nations, before Christianity had been preached to them, and so are the remedies: and if the mission be not now so personal and immediate, as St. Paul's in this case was, from Christ himself; yet it is so general, and the command so binding, that it would be hard for any single Christian to prove he is altogether exempt from complying with it. "*And lo, I am with*

Fleetwood's Works, p. 499

"*you always, even unto the end of the world.*" The work is to last as long as there is occasion, until the *fulness* of the Gentiles be come in; until the kingdom of Christ shall be enlarged to the *utmost parts of the earth.*

The only question then is, do we possess the means, and have they been properly exerted? The Romanists, and some of our own countrymen affirm, that the conversion of the Hindus is easily attainable, and has only been hitherto prevented by our superlative negligence. If these opinions are right, no one would be so hardy as to deny that we must stand condemned in the eyes of the whole world, and reproved by our own consciences; for it would be inconsistent with every sense of Christian duty to suffer a darkness to continue on the minds of our eastern subjects which, might, with a little attention, be removed. Let us not, however, be led away by any hasty opinion, but examine the subject with that coolness and impartiality which its importance requires.

Lord Teignmouth's Life of Sir William Jones, Vol. II. p. 181.

"In the dispensations of Providence, it may be remarked, as an "occurrence of no ordinary nature, that the professors of the Brah- "minical faith should have so far renounced their reserve and dis- "trust, as to submit to the direction of a native of Europe, for com- "piling a digest of their own laws." The mild manners and the extensive erudition of Sir William Jones, prevailed, over every national and religious prejudice, and enabled him to accomplish an object which all the power of Akber (justly as he was called the Guardian of mankind), all the wisdom and artifices of his Minister, Abdul Fazil*, and the romantic love of Feizi, had

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Maurice's Ind. Hist. Vol. II. p. 411.

* Abdul Fazil, the Minister of Akber, attempted, by means of his brother Feizi, to discover the mysteries of the Brahminical faith. Feizi was nurtured by a Brahmin, as his own child, and acquired from his adopted father, the knowledge he desired; but falling in love with his daughter, and discovering his deceit to him, he was induced, by his impassioned entreaties, to conceal the secret within his own bosom.

hitherto been unable to effect. The liberal and enlightened conduct of Sir William Jones, served to remove the suspicions from the minds of the natives, and to reconcile them to the British Government, and if his valuable life had been spared, the most beneficial effects might have been expected from his philanthropy and perseverance.

Sir W. Jones, 1 Dissertation Asiatic Society.

It appears to have been his own conviction, that the permanency of the British Empire in the East, depended in a great measure, if not wholly, upon the care shewn of the civil interests of the natives, that a free, impartial, and upright government, would promote the great ends of civility and legislation, and that the only human method of propagating the Christian Faith, was by small treatises upon particular parts of Scripture, "by translating "into Sanscrit and Persian, such chapters of the Prophets, and "particularly Isaiah, as are indisputably evangelical, together with "one of the Gospels, and a plain prefatory discourse, containing "a full evidence of the very distant ages in which the predictions "themselves, and the history of the Divine Person predicted, "were severally made public; and then quietly to disperse the "work among the well educated natives, with whom, if in due "time it failed of producing very salutary fruit, by its natural "influence, we could only lament more than ever, the strength "of prejudice, and the weakness of unassisted reason."

This practice is every way congenial with the forms of the primitive church; for the first introduction of youth to religious knowledge, the Jews retain at this day their catechisms, and the Protestant churches have in general imitated their example. With religion as well as with other sciences, the primary delivery of its elements must, for similar considerations, be framed according to the weak and slender capacities of its disciples, "so that from smaller things "the mind may proceed to a knowledge of greater, and by de- "grees ascend from the lowest to the highest." This plan has also

Hooker Eccles. Pol.

a further advantage, as it furnishes the most ignorant with infallible axioms and precepts of sacred truth, delivered even in the very letter of the divine law, which may serve them as rules, to regulate the conduct of their lives. Mr. Park is of opinion, that the same measures might be successfully pursued with the Negroes. "That a short and easy introduction to Christianity, such as is "found in some of the catechisms for children, elegantly printed "in Arabic*, and distributed in different parts of the African "coast, might have a wonderful effect. The expense would be but "trifling; curiosity would induce many to read it; and the evident "superiority which it would possess over their present MS. both "in point of elegance and cheapness, might at last obtain it a place "among the school books of Africa."

Interior of Africa, p. 316.

The genius and example of Sir William Jones, anticipated what time might have perhaps more slowly accomplished. "He de-"voted all his leisure to the translation of the New Testament "into Persian †, but he lived scarcely to complete half the Gospel "of St. Matthew." With this view, Mr. Chambers followed his steps, and endeavoured to inculcate the doctrines of Christianity upon the minds of the untaught natives. Many other illustrious names might also be mentioned, who have pursued the same honourable course, and have justly merited the warmest thanks of their country, by preferring the walk of science and patriotism, to the solicitations of ambition, and the lust of gain.

Lord Teignmouth's Life of Sir W. Jones.

It is said of the Portuguese adventurers, that when they passed the Cape of Good Hope, they were instantly fidalgues or gentlemen; to their own names of Pedro, adding the more honoured title of Don. With their names they also changed their natures,

Tavernier's Indian Travels, Part II. c. xiii.

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* See an account of the London Society for the propagation of the Gospel.—Fabric. Lux Evang. c. xxxv. p. 596.

† Sir William Jones wished that the Persian Gospels were more common in India.

and laying aside their national character, became base and revengeful, making no scruple to assassinate an enemy, even at the foot of the Altar. The English, who have settled in India for the purpose of accumulating a fortune, labour not, it is true, under the same reproaches, but they have been charged with renouncing their native manners, and leaving behind them in their own country their religion and morals. But such an accusation, although countenanced in a few instances, is every way falsified by the general character of the British residents, who so far from having made an immoderate pursuit of riches, the sole object of their attention, have protected and encouraged the liberal arts, and still continue to pursue the nobler paths of virtue and honour, with unblemished reputation. "But the difficulty attending the acquisition of new idioms, the obstacles opposed by the fears, prejudices, and the reserve of the natives, the constant occupations of official duty, and the injurious effect of sedentary application in a tropical climate upon the constitution," are impediments which it requires more than common perseverance to surmount. Lord Teignmouth's Life of Sir W. Jones, Vol. II. p. 225.

The institution of the Asiatic Society, was the great basis of the subsequent improvement in the literature and manners of the English in India; a principle of emulation, excited by Sir William Jones, was communicated to his learned associates, by which science has been gradually making fresh advances. Sir William seems also to have designed, amongst his projected studies in India, the translation of the Psalms into the Persic, and the Gospel of St. Luke into the Arabic tongues. For though the Turkish is the vernacular language of that region of Tartary, which gave birth to the race of Tamerlane, yet the Tartar conquerors of Hindoostan, made the Persian character and language, the common medium of communication throughout their dominions, and the usage is still preserved in all the Mahomedan states of Hindoostan, and among Forster's Travels.

the higher classes of the Hindus*. Amongst the improvements adopted by Mr. Hastings, in order to conciliate the natives, and give a more respectable character to the British residents, a college was established by him at Calcutta, for the express purpose of enabling its members to acquire a knowledge of the Mahomedan and Hindoo law. Native students were there taught at the public expense; and thus a wise plan was formed for the more upright exposition of the law, the better administration of justice, and the properly supplying the important and honourable offices of magistrates. Whatever censures may be attached to Lord Wellesley's military projects; it would be ungenerous to deny that the plans, which, under his administration, were adopted for the improvement of the natives, and the instruction of the English in the Asiatic languages, were attended with the fullest success, and were in general entitled to commendation. The policy of these schemes has, however, been questioned, and the collegiate institution at Fort William, which he considerably enlarged, has since met with a very unexpected opposition, grounded on the plea, that the expense of such an establishment was far too heavy, in the present state of the Company's revenues. The Directors have, in consequence, taken the measure into their own hands, and have instituted a seminary at Hertford, professing to have the same object in view, though at a smaller charge, and for a younger class of pupils. But the advantages of acquiring languages in the country, where they are spoken or written†, must still give a decided preference to the college at

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* The Turkish contains ten Arabic or Persian words, for one originally Scythian. There is scarcely a country in Asia or Africa, from the sources of the Nile to the wall of China, in which a man who understands Arabic, Persian, or Turkish, may not travel, or transact the most important affairs, with advantage and security.

† The great superiority of the Bengal to the Madras and Bombay civil servants, must be attributed to their superior education. Lord Wellesley's plan of bringing

Calcutta. For, the learned men, who, from all quarters of India, Persia, and Arabia, had been drawn to the capital by this institution, contributed by their labours, to throw a great light upon the manners and customs of the most remote regions, and afforded the best hope of success to future inquiries. It appears that under the superintendance of Marquis Wellesley, and the college at Fort William, "the four Gospels have already been translated "into the Persian, Hindostanee*, Mahratta, Orissa† and Malay‡ "languages; and the whole Scriptures have been translated into "the Bengalee language. One edition of the Bengalee Bible "has been distributed among the natives, and a second is in the "press for their use. A version of the Scriptures in the Chinese "has also been undertaken, and a portion of the work is already "printed off." These have been the principal efforts made under the patronage of the British government in India, to impart to the natives a knowledge of the Christian Scriptures. The success

Buchanan, p. 5. Ex. Eccl. Est.

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the junior servants of these settlements to Fort William, was excellent. A civil servant in Bengal, must be perfect in the language of the country, or he is not competent to any office. He must know the laws of the Koran and the Shaster, before he can be appointed to any office of justice or revenue. The same system has since been adopted for Bombay and Madras."—Major Scott Waring's Reply.

* "The jargon of Hindoostan, vulgarly called the language of the Moors, con- "tains so great a number of Persian words, that I was able to read with very little "difficulty the Fables of *Pilpay*, which are translated into that idiom."

Sir W. Jones's Works, Vol. II. p. 132.

The advantage attending those who have, previously to their visiting India, studied the Persian, is immense, not only as it is the language of courts and of the learned, but as it is the principal root of the Eastern dialects.

† From the coast of Orissa to Cape Comorin, and along the coast of Malabar to Cochin, the principal language spoken is the Tamul, and although there is some occasional deviation apparent in the character and pronunciation of other idioms, in these parts, the Tamul is the root.

‡ The Dutch edited the Gospels in the Malay language, the Psalms and the Book of Genesis, 1662 to 1668, and 1687. Portuguese Versions of the Scriptures, are numerous in India.

has not however answered the public expectation, nor is it reasonable to imagine, that any immediate change can be wrought in the minds of the people.

If any reliance is to be placed upon the early accounts of Indian civilization, it must be evident, that the inhabitants of the East are not by nature inferior to those of the West, and that their present degeneracy is rather to be attributed to the quality of their government, than to the faculties of their minds, or the physical effects of climate. These reflections, it is hoped, may have some weight upon the future conduct of our country, and may serve to rescue its character from the stigma of usurpation, tyranny, and avarice, which have been cast upon it by the nations of Europe, in what concerns its intercourse with the East. For by the proper management of the empire it has acquired, Great Britain possesses beyond all controversy, the means of contributing to the happiness of the natives, and of thereby teaching them to consider its conquests rather as a blessing, than a calamity.

The legitimate object of all governments is the general good, and that government is the best, which produces from *permanent causes*, the greatest good, and least evil, to those within the sphere of its operation. Perfection indeed is not to be expected in any system formed by man; but there are gradations of excellency in every human contrivance. Instead of making a part subservient to the whole, we should estimate fixed regulations or temporary measures, by the aggregate of happiness they are calculated to produce. If the experience of past ages, and the present relative state of India, exclude the possibility of extending to it, at least for the present, all the blessings of freedom and independence, it should be recollected, that the attachment of the people is only to be secured by blending their interests with our own, by cultivating their good will, and thereby concealing from their view, the disparity which exists between the governors and the governed. It

is impossible that the history of the country will not suggest some hints for improvement, and it would be idle to insist upon the invincible aversion of the Hindoo to either the civil or religious melioration of his condition, if it were only conducted upon rational principles.

Akber treated the Hindus with indulgence, and thereby obtained their love and veneration; Aurungzebe tried upon them the effects of persecution, but was glad, after a dangerous war, to renounce his error. Abul Fazil thought neither contemptibly of their mind, nor their character, but pronounced a high encomium on their virtues, both as individuals and as members of society, and celebrated their attainments in arts and sciences of every denomination. How different is this description from the information lately given by Mr. Buchanan: "Go," says he, "into a village within five miles of Cal- Buchanan, p. 110.
"cutta, and you will find an ignorance of letters and of the world, See Orme's Hindoostan,
"an intellectual debility; a wretchedness of living and a barbarism Vol. II. p. 5.
"of appearance, which by every account (making an allowance
"for our regular government and plentiful country) are not sur-
"passed among the natives in the interior of Africa, or the back
"settlements of America." Mr. Buchanan traces this ignorance and barbarity in the neighbourhood of the capital, to the negligence of the British Government, to the "cruel and artificial" effects of a superstition, which debars "the wretched Sooder" from even *hearing* the word of instruction, "and confirms his
"inferiority to the other Castes, even in a physical sense; his high-
"est portion at the next transmigration of souls, being to animate
"the body of a Monkey or a Jackal!!" But if this character be not overcharged, the long and enervating influence of the Mahomedan government of Hindoostan, might have produced this effect upon the mind of the Indian, without any concurrent cause. It is, perhaps, the want of a spring to rouse the nobler faculties, and to give spur and vigour to that divine spirit of the soul,

which provokes to action and inquiry, that has made the Indian prefer rest in ignorance, to the tedious labour of acquiring knowledge. Thus custom enslaves the mind by long practice; its impressions are not to be effaced by the slow advances of reason, or the stimulus of novelty, "and evil is chosen when the contrary "is probably known, as often as the prejudice of sensible ex- "perience oversways." So long as these causes continue to ope- "rate with the same force, all attempts at improvement will only "have a distant effect upon the habits of the people. Civilization "will, must proceed with slow steps, and Christianity will find but few proselytes. "For how should the brightness of wisdom shine, "where the windows of the soul are to every set purpose closed "and darkened." "Is it wished to fill the soul with an idea of "this great object; to hasten her approach to that critical mo- "ment in which it ought to be of the highest importance, that "she can be most effectually detached from any particular reli- "gion, a more certain way is to tempt her by favours, by the "conveniencies of life, by the hopes of fortune." Lenity alone can subdue prejudice, for men must be first conciliated by strong invitations of kindness, before any fruits can be expected from instruction.

Hooker, Ecc. Pol.

Ibid.

Montesq. B. XXV. c. 12.

Yet in some districts, even under the English Government, examples are not wanting of the successful progress of cilivization, and they rather cherish than stifle, the hope of its future advancement. Among other instances, the districts of *Rujah-Mhal* and *Bauglepoor*, have not only increased in the number of their inhabitants, but the revenues have been improved, and the means of their collection facilitated. By the indulgence of Mr. Cleveland, the wild mountaineers have been induced to quit their fastnesses, and become the guardians of a country, which they had long wasted by rapine and bloodshed. It is indeed agreed universally that a material change is necessary in the management of India: some are perhaps for going too far, and tampering with

Near Monger and Patna.

Forster's Travels, Vol. I. p. 27.

the prejudices of the people; others seduced by local attachments, or biassed by resentment at the supposed causes of the late irritation on the coast, seem inclined to oppose every alteration of the native religions, and deprecate the design of establishing public schools, and the other propositions of those who are friendly to conversion, as the certain ruin of the English power. They do not however deny the necessity of contributing effectually towards the comfort and happiness of the people, so long as their religious opinions remain untouched. But in a controversy of so delicate a nature, it is perhaps impossible to satisfy the caution of the statesman, or the zeal of the enthusiast: a stake, wherein the welfare of so many millions is concerned, must not be set upon a dangerous hazard.

But it is said, that the hope of the future advancement of the Gospel, is not more checked by the ignorance of the natives, than by the defective state of the religious establishment of the English church in India, and that some improvement in this respect is essential to its prosperity. What, it is argued, can be expected from those who revisit England, after having passed the greater part of their early lives amidst the corruptions of an Eastern climate; and are freed from all those restraints which European decorum, and filial habits, generally impose upon the young and thoughtless? How could society in Europe be for one instant held together, without those necessary curbs and observances, which both religion and the state have imposed for the better regulation of human conduct? It is seen that breaches of moral observance, are only a prelude to the commission of greater crimes, and that men throw off these restraints, because they find them troublesome to their conscience, and interfering with their pleasures; because some part of the doctrine they are obliged to hear, sounds harshly upon their ears, and tells them that they are not only accountable agents, but in danger of future punishment, if they

persist in the same destructive course. Were, however, the description of these evils, as they concern the residents of India, true in all its parts, or though they were even greater than is represented, the fault would not in justice so much attach to them, as to the criminal negligence of the parent state, which attempted to rule a people, without preserving among its own immediate subjects, any vestige of religious law, and therefore gave to the passions of youth an unbridled latitude. It requires no great knowledge of human nature to discover, that if the public ordinances of the religion of early life are despised or neglected, men will neither respect its sanctions, nor improve by its precepts; the root of the evil is here said, to lie, in the total defect of almost the semblance of any religious institution, and in the want of that decent regularity, and habits of subordination and piety, which belong to the religious establishments of most Protestant countries.

Christianity is not, as has been objected to it, adapted, like the ancient mythologies, only to a particular people or climate, but
Isaiah, xi. 2. it embraces and comprehends all mankind. It desires to impress upon the hearts of its votaries, that they should not only learn its value themselves, but have compassion upon those who are ignorant of its benefits. It teaches men not only to abstain from evil, but to seek every possibility of doing good; and it gives us the assurance, that a more acceptable service cannot be performed to the Author of Life, than *that* which promotes the intellectual happiness of his creatures. If, therefore, through any selfish motives, this work should be impeded, no other proof could be required, that Christianity had not its proper influence upon the heart. The ignorance of the Eastern nations, would, in such a case, find more excuse, than European uncharitableness; for the fault would lie upon those who had the power of accomplishing the work—not on those who were incapable of helping themselves!!

CHAP. XV.

PRESENT CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT IN INDIA—DANGEROUS CONDUCT OF THE ENGLISH MISSIONARIES—AND THE MEASURES WHICH SHOULD IN FUTURE BE PURSUED, FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE ENGLISH RESIDENTS, AND THE NATIVES.

Mr. Buchanan contends, that in the present limited state of the Church Establishment in India, little benefit can be expected to result, either to the British residents, or the natives. In 1793, when the question for the better regulation of the conduct of the Governors of India, and the promotion of the happiness of the people, was agitated in parliament, the number of Clergymen, appointed for the settlements was increased from six to eighteen, on account of their inability to supply the wants of the British population. An attempt was at the same time made, to introduce some clauses into the Company's charter, for the cilivization of the Hindus, which were principally directed to the establishment of free schools in the subjected provinces, and the adoption of such other methods as might be judged necessary for the conversion of the natives. These proposals were altogether rejected, and no alteration has taken place since that period in the regular church establishment. English India has three churches, one at Calcutta*, and the others at the two presidencies of Madras and Bombay. "There "is not one in the interior of Bengal or its dependant provinces. "European regiments have indeed their Chaplains, and a part "of the barracks is appropriated as a chapel. But the officers of "native regiments, not quartered at the principal stations of the "army, and the whole of the Company's civil servants through-"out India, those only excepted who reside at the presidency,

Dangers of British India, p. 23, n.

* There is also at Calcutta the old Missionary Church, called Padre Kiernanders.

" are deprived of every chance of improvement, that might be " derived from public instruction." Their children cannot be christened: the ceremonies of marriage and burial are performed by the civil magistrate, and they have no place of public worship to assemble in to make their united adoration to the Al-

Buchanan Exp. Eccl. Est.

" mighty. " It is also stated, that the two armies lately in the " field, in Hindoostan and in the Decan *, had not one Chap- " lain, and that many of the British settlements and factories " of the first importance, have no other knowledge or distinction " of the Christian Sabbath, than the display of the British flag." The neglected state of British India, is contrasted with some of the islands of the Western Continent, one of which (Jamaica) has alone eighteen churches, and a heavy censure is thence cast

Ibid. p. 2.

upon the policy of the British counsels, " which reckons on the " perpetuity of its empire in the East, without the aid of reli-

Ibid. p. 13.

" gion or of religious men; and calculates that a foreign nation, " annulling all sanctity in its character amongst a people accus- " tomed to reverence the Deity, will flourish for ever in the heart " of Asia, by arms or commerce alone! A proper ecclesiastical " establishment is alone said to be wanting, to give our character " a higher ascendancy among the natives, to consolidate our widely " extended power, and serve to defeat the dangerous attempts " of our European enemies: it would give our empire in the " East, the semblance of our empire in the West, and support " our English principles on the stable basis of English religion."

The other measures, which have been adopted by individuals, for the supply of that religious instruction, which, it is presumed, a population of thirty or fifty million of souls must stand in need of, have been lately pursued by persons under the agency of the sectarian missions; but of the benefit, or rather of the preju-

* Dr. M'Kinnon, Chaplain to the 76th Regt. officiated with that corps in the field, under Lord Lake, and died in the camp.

dice, which has resulted from their labours, there is at this moment a serious controversy. Before the year 1792, no missionaries appear to have been sent to India from this country; when a society of Baptists first turned their attention to Bengal, conceiving, that the *moral and religious state of the Hindoos*, might be improved by the labours of their members. Neither of the two societies, one of which has been formerly noticed, and another of equal antiquity, under the name of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, appear to have made any attempt at conversion by the same means, or to have afforded any countenance to missionary establishments in Hindoostan, except in the temporary assistance they are said to have afforded the Danes, who had been long established on the coast. But the Danes had so effectually conciliated the natives, by their kind and liberal treatment, that they were every where received with indulgence, and listened to with respect; the number of their converts was however small, although much had perhaps been done towards weaning the people from their ancient prejudices. The Catholics had also their missions, and of late years they seem to have conducted themselves in a peaceable manner. "Of the English sectarian societies, "one of them maintains thirteen missionaries on the coast and in "Ceylon*, and one at Surat. Three of the number are women! Other societies have also their missions, and the accounts that have been transmitted to Europe speak in the highest terms of their success, though, in the opinion of many sensible men, this statement is not only exaggerated, but the very object for which they contend seems to have been rendered still more distant, by the improper mode that has been adopted in its pursuit. They are accused of contumely, turbulence, and the most offensive abuse of the religion of the Hindus, of suffering, as the highest possible affront to the people,

Scott Waring's Reply, p. 15.

Ibid. p. 95.

* The Christian religion professed by the ancient Ceylonese converts is merely nominal.

Scott Waring's Reply, p. 36.

their native converts to preach in the Hindoo temples, "of denouncing, in a sermon preached at a great Hindoo festival, at Saugur, "eternal damnation to an immense multitude, if having then heard "the Gospel for the first time, they should be so imprudent as to "reject it." Their very "converts are described as men of the "most despicable characters, who had lost their castes, and took up "a new religion, because they were excommunicated." They tell the Hindus—"Your Sastras are only fit for the amusement of children, and your books of philosophy are mere fables. Hereafter "do ye and your brethren abominate the discourse of Barbarians—"the Sastras of Barbarians contain not the means of salvation."

Scott Waring's Observations on the East India Company, chap. xlii.

Vindication of the Hindus, p. 17.

The impolicy, not to say the folly and madness, of such language, need not be insisted on; and we may, therefore, have as just reason to question the truth of their statements*, as the prudence of their measures. The Jesuits and the Franciscans boasted in the same manner of the progress of their labours, but experience has shewn that they were not founded in truth. It was indeed impossible to expect that any benefit could result from the exertions of men who were more anxious to assert the orthodoxy of their own tenets, than advance the religion of Christ. The path pursued by the Catholics was not more fortunately trod by Mr. Schwartz, the success of whose public mission has been justly questioned; for, though his private virtues have entitled and earned for him a just praise, it is doubted, if many converts were gained by his labours.

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* It is stated in the Transactions of their own Society, that "wherever we have "gone we have uniformly found, that so long as the people did not understand "the import of our message, they appeared to listen; but the moment they understood something of it, they either became indifferent, or began to ridicule. This "in general has been our reception! The whole number baptized in Bengal since "1795, is forty-eight, over many of these we rejoice with great joy; for others we "tremble, and over some we are compelled to weep."—See Baptist Miss. Society. Trans. Miss. Soc.

"Mr. Kiernander, a Danish missionary, was 20 years in Bengal, "without exciting the smallest alarm amongst the people." Mr. Schwartz lived and died respected and beloved by all classes of Hindus; but the practices of the Sectarian missionaries led to consequences at which every reflective mind must shudder. It is, however, to be hoped that they have rather acted from ignorance than design; for they seem not to have been aware of the danger of interfering with the religion of a people, the continuance of whose subjection depends more upon their esteem and favourable opinion, than upon the power and resources of the conqueror. Zealously devoted to the pursuit of a particular object, and in which they fancy they are performing an acceptable service to the Deity, they may not perceive the mischief that would result to themselves and their countrymen, if they overstepped that line of conduct, where toleration ceases to be prudent, and patience can no longer be preserved. Scott Waring's Observations, p. 68.

The distribution also of religious tracts, filled with virulent invectives against the national creeds, cannot possibly answer any good purpose, but may increase the aversion of the people to the translations of the Scriptures already current in the settlements, and which, under wise management, cannot fail, from their own beauty and importance, to produce the desired effect*.

The instructions of the Missionary Societies may not probably have countenanced such violent measures; but what is to be expected from men at a distance from their friends, hurried away by an indiscriminating zeal, ignorant for the most part of Eastern history,

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* The plan of the British and Foreign Bible Society, established in 1804, was to give the Scriptures as a dole of charity to petitioners. It is said, that 2000*l.* were transmitted by this Society to the Eastern missionaries, in aid of the Scriptures. In 1806 the New Testament was translated, and gratuitously distributed, together with 20,000 religious tracts. Lord Teignmouth is at the head of this Society; which is also supported by many other eminent men. It is not, however, supposed that the measures adopted in India could have possibly met with their sanction.

and often as much prejudiced themselves as the people they would convert? If, also, we take into the account that their rank and importance at home must, from the difficulty of obtaining correct information, depend in a great measure not on the proper employment of the rational means of conversion, but upon the number of converts, upon the change of a name, the adoption of a form or rite, and not the evidence of practical Christianity in their disciples; we may well pause before we sanction an attempt pregnant with so much danger and absurdity.

Observations on the East India Company, p. 59.

"Hitherto," says Major Scott Waring, "the Brahmins lived on "the most intimate terms both with the Protestant and Romish "missionaries, without betraying any symptom of jealousy or en- "mity; but these English missionaries, by what I may call a "ruffianly and abusive attack on the national religions of Hin- "doostan, naturally excited the enmity of the Brahmins, and I am "sure of all the Hindus who read their tracts." Thus, so far from having had a good effect, their conduct only occasioned uneasiness amongst the people, and alarm to the state; the ferment became at length so visible as to awaken the attention of the Government, which was naturally implicated in the designs of men who could not remain in India without its sanction; and nothing perhaps but a prompt decision could have rescued the English residents from the storm which was hanging over them*. At Vellore, and on the Coast, the irritation of the public mind was first shewn in an act of cruel massacre. This circumstance is ascribed to the influence of other causes, and more particularly to the arts of the Mysorean

* At Nundy Droog and Palam-Cottah, the same disaffection was apparent, and nothing but the timely interference of the commanders prevented the evils so fatally experienced at Vellore. The fears excited among the troops at Palam-Cottah, by the recent changes in the Asiatic costume, and a report that the Government had it in contemplation forcibly to convert them to Christianity, were the causes of this alarm. —"Vindication of the Hindus, 1808."

Princes; but was it unnatural for the Sepoy to imagine that the alteration of his dress had some connection with the intended change of his religion? The Governor of Ceylon, dreading a repetition of the evils at Vellore, banished all the missionaries from the island; and the same measures, or stricter regulations, have, in all probability, been since adopted by the other presidencies, in order to prevent the recurrence of a similar calamity.

But the advocates for an immediate interference with the religion of the Hindus and Moslems will ask, if the dangers are thus imminent, are we, as Christians, authorised to leave them in the exclusive and uninterrupted enjoyment of their national rites? Is it either the duty or the interest of Great Britain to nourish in its bosom a creed so hostile as that of the Koran, or opinions so erroneous as those contained in the Sastras? Is the progress of civilization and improvement to be left to the fluctuations of chance or caprice, and a government to be administered in the enlightened period of the nineteenth century, without the least attention to the ignorance and superstitious prejudices of fifty millions of people?

To such questions, it may be answered, that no one in his senses would object to the measure of converting the Hindus, if it could be accomplished without danger; at the same time, all reasonable men will urge that the ultimate consequences of a proper administration and temperate management of the prejudices of the people, would be the surest means of reconciling them to the Christian faith. For prejudices must be conciliated before they can be subdued. Of the eligibility of such an object, there cannot exist two opinions; but surely the means are to be considered, as well as the end; and the only question fairly is, as to the injudicious zeal of enforcing a measure which time and prudence must eventually accomplish.

The idea of converting to Christianity so many millions of men dazzles the imagination, and perhaps may, in a great measure, contribute to the blindness with which men generally estimate the means

possessed for its accomplishment. The Spaniards and Portuguese, in the 16th century, held out to the nations they wished to convert, that they "came not to bring peace but a sword;" and their practice was too answerable to the perversion of their doctrine. The missionaries are said in some respects to have adopted this principle; at least they have declared it; for, happily for Great Britain, they have not had the power, and it is hoped they would not wish to possess it, that of disseminating their opinions by the more forcible language of the bayonet or the sabre. The missionaries boast of the number of their converts, but the thinking world justly questions their authority; and even many of their patrons admit, that few good converts have hitherto been made. "The outcasts have indeed joined them, and have appeared as of their faith; but the conduct of these outcasts has generally proved that they professed what they did not feel, and has considerably influenced the higher orders in their prejudices against Christianity. Nor can it be doubted that the zeal of diffusing their doctrine has frequently induced the missionaries to receive unworthy members into their societies, and to be content with the simple avowal of conversion, without any reform of habits."

Scott Waring's Observations on the East India Company, p. 59.

Scott Waring's Reply, p. 70.

The Dangers of British India, p. 22.

Can any prudent man now think that such converts, many of whom have been expelled for "gross immorality," will add much credit to the Christian faith, in a country where the suspicion of the people is considerably awakened as to the ultimate object of the British Government; where the loss of caste, the most dreadful punishment that can be inflicted on a Hindoo, and which robs him of his very civil existence, is the consequence of his renouncing the tenets of his Fathers? If he is despised by the Brahmin, he is equally scorned by his own friends and kindred. "No one will give him to wife, and contracts made before he was baptized, are esteemed invalid." The very reception of such outcasts must ever operate to the exclusion of any man of respectability, whose example might otherwise have had a powerful influence on the lower classes of the Hindus.

The alteration of religious opinions in England, at the period of the Reformation, was not the consequence of hostility to the Catholic faith, in the lower orders of the people, but of the enlightened efforts of those who had long renounced its tenets, though compelled to profess them in silence. The people followed the example of their superiors, and, in most cases, submitted to the change, without a struggle.

The accounts of the modern conversion of the Hindus may remind us of the conduct of the Spaniards, in the conquest of Mexico, whose greatest glory consisted in the number of souls baptized, not in the number of those who were made Christians. A single Ecclesiastic is recorded to have baptized in one day above 5000 Mexicans, and to have only ceased from his labour when fatigue had rendered him unable to lift his hands. In a few years, four millions received baptism in the Mexican Empire; but neither the people, nor the Priests, appear to have been acquainted with the precepts of the Gospel. If indeed the labours of the Eastern missionaries had been more successful, and no mischief had resulted from their conduct, it must still be obvious that so great an object as the conversion of a large empire ought not to be entrusted to private hands. The motives of the Societies* which encouraged them may be pure and blameless; and it may no more have been the object of their instructions, than it is our wish, to impute to them the intention of producing any of the evils that have been detailed; but the evil is not in this case lessened because it was not intended: it may be robbed of some of its guilt from innocent design, but it cannot evade the consequences of its folly. The concern is indeed of such magnitude as to require more attention than can be individually paid to it; for India is no longer independent, but in a

See Scott Waring's Reply, p. 39.

* There are six Societies in England for converting Heathens to the Christian religion—1. Society for Missions to Africa and the East; the principal patron of which is Mr. Wilberforce—2. Methodist Society for Missions—3. Anabaptist Society for Missions—4. Missionary Society—5. Society for promoting Christian Knowledge—6. Moravian Missions. They all publish their proceedings.—See Edin. Rev. No. 22.

great measure subject to England, and whatever is done individually, is done under the cognizance of the nation *; such arrangements should therefore be made as, whilst they offer a prospect of conversion, may carefully guard against the danger of future alarm from the rashness of religious empirics.

The idea of compulsion can never, it is presumed, enter the breast of an Englishman. In his own country, all religions are tolerated; nor will any but a bigot imagine that a want of conformity in matters of private opinion can lessen the offices or qualities of a good citizen. The Sectarian missionaries, whilst they conduct themselves peaceably and orderly, may, as in the dominions of the native Princes, be suffered to continue their labours in Hindoostan, but let them neither be countenanced nor discouraged by the Government, so as to make its favour the means of disturbing the peace of the Hindoo. No jealousy was formerly shewn, either by the Mahomedan or Hindoo Princes, because missionaries were settled in their countries, and the British Government, which now possesses the power formerly enjoyed by them, may allow them the same privileges, so long as they keep within due bounds. Let the translations of the Scriptures be distributed among those who demand them, and let their silent influence be suffered to operate on the minds of the intelligent, and the assistance of Heaven, it may be piously hoped, will, in its own good time, bring the fruit to maturity. Another, and a serious reason, against immediate interference, should also have its proper weight. In destroying the faith of the Hindus at present, their religion and morality would perhaps fall together; for however defective it may be, in comparison with the purity of the Christian faith, the union is too intimate to bear a violent separation. With the Hindus, the only present re-

* Gli huomini che vogliano, fare una cosa, deggiono prima con ogni industria prepararsi, per essere, vedendo l'occasione, apparecchiati à sodisfare à quello, che si hanno presupposto di operare.—Libro Primo dell' Arte della Guerrra.—Macchiavelli, T. IV.

straints upon the intemperance of the human passions are the moral precepts of their Sastras; and if these are forcibly broken down before they can be acquainted with the more perfect but less complicated system of the Gospel, what security remains in the affections of the people, or the stability of the Government?

An enlarged church establishment is probably necessary, from the increased numbers of residents, in consequence of the late accessions of territory. This would obviate the inconvenience of future casualties, and do away many of those objections which are at present raised by the Sectarian ministers. For the example and influence of men competently instructed, would not only act with a becoming force on the English population, but ultimately on the natives themselves.

If indeed the condition of the Hindus be at present so forlorn, the sooner an adequate remedy shall be applied, the sooner will the Government reap the benefits of its protection. Nor does it seem inconsistent to suppose that an alteration in the habits of the people might be more speedily brought about by promoting civilization, by encouraging the arts, by a liberal and enlightened administration, than by any sudden effects to be produced by the preaching of the Gospel. The probability of immediate conversion by human means seems to be disavowed by all who are best acquainted with the subject; and if the Hindus are to be received into the bosom of the church, every reasonable man would wish them to enter as men with reformed habits, having something more of Christianity than the mere name. Education may produce such an effect, but then, without the immediate interposition of Providence, it must be the work of time. The Brahmin may be regenerated, but he cannot be compelled by human art to change his faith. Even the institution of public schools for the education of the Hindoo and Mahomedan children might not have the desired effect, unless they were countenanced by those whom the people have from long habit been accustomed to reverence. It will be confessed that such an attempt, fairly encou-

raged, and not militating against their peculiar tenets, is, at all events, worthy the experiment, should it not even be eventually successful. As the mind became better informed, the force of superstition would be weakened, and a link of the chain once broken, it would soon lose its force and tenacity. "Ignorance may, perhaps, be the mother of superstition, but experience hath not proved it to be so of devotion; for Christianity always made the most easy and quickest progress in civilized countries." The ignorance of the darker ages in Europe was only put to flight by the slow progress of reason and science. Nor was religion alone able to subdue all the prejudices which had accumulated in the night of twelve centuries. Could the Pundits be once gained over by those arguments which true religion suggests, and reason tolerates, the effect of their influence upon the minds of the people would be infinitely more powerful than any mandate of the Government. The Christian religion was revealed in the brightest period of the Roman Empire, and the wisdom of Providence seems to have ordained that men of deep genius and learning should then arise, who might search into the truth of the Gospel, and canvas its doctrines with all the subtlety and knowledge they were masters of. The consequences were such as might have been reasonably expected; Christianity, in the end, gained a complete triumph over the errors of Paganism.

Swift's Works.

In the present instance, it seems not to be thought necessary to rely upon the slower progress of civilization, nor to await the influence which European customs and habits may have on the manners of the Indian. The axiom has been laid down, "that there never can be "confidence, freedom, and affection, between the people and their "sovereign, where there exists a difference of religion;" and it is, therefore, to be acted upon without the least delay or reserve. The history of the world furnishes, however, a sufficient number of examples to prove the contrary of this assertion, and the evidence of our own country may serve to confute an error so dangerous to the

Buchanan, Esp. Ecc. Est. p. 29.

peace of mankind. No man will attempt to say that a Catholic is of necessity a worse soldier than a Protestant, nor would an unprejudiced mind assume that his attachment to Popery disabled him from fulfilling all the relations of a good subject. An opinion of this kind is so full of bigotry and folly, that we might have been justified in tracing its existence to the era of feudal darkness, had it not found advocates in the eighteenth century, in an age, when religion is more professed than practised, and in which men seem rather attached to its forms than its substance. The evidence of history and experience is a sufficient refutation of the charge. Do the Canadians appear less attached to the English Government, because their religious persuasion is different from that of their Governors? Or are the Protestant soldiers of some of the German powers less capable of exerting all the energies of men, because they serve under the banners of a Catholic Prince? It is in the nature of things that the gratitude of the subject should necessarily result from the justice and good conduct of the governors; and the human mind, from the lowest state of savage life to the highest pitch of civilization, is never wholly insensible to the obligation attached to benefits conferred.

The English have vanquished the descendants of the conquerors of Hindoostan, and the means, by which, they have acquired and maintained their dominion, have been by preserving inviolate the religion, laws, and local customs both of Mahomedans and Hindus. The implicit confidence which may be placed in their attachment, when their *religious prejudices and ancient customs are respected*, has been proved under the most trying occasions, and should refute that dangerous maxim, which would rudely trample upon the solemn ordinances of a people, whose rights we are pledged to defend, on the ground, that a difference of religious faith is incompatible with civil subordination. The question does not here rest upon a barren theory, for the gratitude of the people has been tried: why then

is any doubt excited of their future attachment? Let the Legislature, only adopt all reasonable means to promote the happiness of the people, and the era of their conversion will not be very distant. Under the influence of an enlightened Government, the human faculties will not be retarded in their advances by the power of Priests, or the force of religious customs; and the mind, once taught to look calmly into its powers and relations, will eventually discover the path of truth.

It has been said that the great acquisition of territory lately made in Hindoostan requires an additional number of Chaplains. To such a proposition no one could justly object; and under due encouragement there would be little difficulty in obtaining men for the service, who might not only contribute to the improvement of science and virtue among all ranks of the English, but inspire perhaps a higher taste for them among the Pundits themselves. If indeed the quality of the work be difficult, the more cautious and select should be the choice of the candidates: if opinions and prejudices be against it, the higher dignity and character should be attached to those employed. Are the places of assembly for public worship, at present insufficient, others might be erected in the Presidencies, or in the settlements of general resort, where no great alarm would probably be occasioned, so long as the people were taught to believe they were solely for the use of the British residents.

Of the force and advantage of outward forms, all Governments seem fully sensible. External worship, when attended with some circumstances of magnificence and pomp, flatters the mind, and strongly attaches it to religion. The riches of the Temple, its majestic height, and venerable antiquity, the deep gloom and solemn silence, or the blaze of light reflected from a thousand lamps, strike the soul with awe, and insensibly draw it towards heaven. The Spanish American, incapable, from habit and education, of appreciating the sublime doctrines of the Gospel, is attracted by the

numerous and splendid ceremonies of the Popish ritual. Mr. Schwartz complained that he found it extremely difficult to satisfy the converted Hindoo with the simple service of the Protestant religion, so great were the charms of the painted scenery, the sacred relics, and the blaze of fire-works accompanying the Papal communion; and so little trouble did the Indian take to distinguish between the homage paid to the beautiful image of a Saint or Madonna, and the ruder sculpture of his national idols. The shew, the noise, and the wild ceremonies that took place at the celebration of the death of Hussein, the son of Ali, have still a great influence upon the minds of both Hindoo and Mahomedan; and perhaps these ceremonies have considerably tended to preserve the spirit of hostility which prevails between the Shia and the Sooni. The Mussulman hears the Mouazen crying from the minarets of the Mosque, at the hours of morning and evening prayer, "*That there is but one God, and that* "*Mahomed is his Prophet.*" The Hindoo presents upon the altars of the Pagoda a simple offering to his favourite Deity, or receives from the attendant Brahmin the mysterious badge of his peculiar caste. The stated festivals of his God, their solemn processions, the enthusiasm communicated by so many devotees, keep alive the delusion of superstition, and thus "the very misery of the "people is a motive that renders them fond of a religion which "has served as a pretext to those who were the cause of their "misery."

Forster's Trav. Vol. II. p. 147.

See Appendix.

Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, Book XXV. c. ii.

The Mussulmen, it is observed, do not perceive among the Christians that lively persuasion of their religion, that jealousy of its honour, that outward decorum and obedience to its most solemn rites, which are to be found among the followers of the Koran. In the dress and habits of the Protestant divine they perceive nothing essentially different from those of his countrymen; few or no monuments of his religious worship; nothing to give outward weight or reverence to the religion he professes; no sacred order of Priests, no Hierarchy; but

a few ignorant or enthusiastic missionaries, scattered over the country, without rank in the state, or countenance from the people.

But does it hence follow that the Catholic religion alone will best accord with the prejudices of either Hindoo or Mahomedan? By no means. Perhaps in the present state and temper of their minds, they are more likely to be attracted by show and parade, than by rational piety and a sublimer mode of worship: though the object of all parties must be to convince the natives of the truths of Christianity, and not merely to make converts, who know little more of it than the name. Were, however, circumstances changed, and a greater weight attached to the character of the English clergymen; or were one only, with sufficient and honourable provision, established in each district through the Provinces, there is no doubt that the example of their lives, and the simplicity of their religious worship, would attract the attention, and by slow and sure degrees, effect the conversion of the people. It would be idle to assert that, in the present state of things much benefit can result from the labours of the missionaries, or even from their more extensive encouragement. Is it not natural for the Hindoo to demand, why require me to adopt a faith of which even your own people differ so much in essentials? How is it, that on one side eternal punishment is denounced against me, "for hearing and not obeying the "word," without other arguments to enforce my conviction; whilst, on the other, the olive-branch of peace is extended, and the mysteries of divine mercy are unfolded by gentleness and persuasion!

An objection has also been raised against an increased ecclesiastical establishment, upon the plea of the heavy expense that would attend it; but if this objection hold good, upon what principle does the missionary claim a higher indulgence than the regular members of our own church; or why is he entitled to a firmer support from individuals than they are from the State? Should it even amount,

placing the establishment upon the best footing, to the annual computed charge of £200,000, how trifling is the expense, in comparison with the advantages derived from India, and which seem to demand a proportional return.

The (βαττολογια*) loquacity and vain repetitions of the Greek Pagans did not more advance the interests of true religion than the incoherent opinions of some modern enthusiasts; as if heaven were to be taken by storm, or the mercies of the Deity, with the rod of Popilius, were to be confined within the circle of human presumption. The cause of many, or perhaps of all the misfortunes of the Greeks, in their progress both of arts and arms, arose from their mutual strife and dissensions. "Their wise men were divided under several sects, "and their Governments under several commonwealths, all in op- "position to each other, which engaged them in eternal quarrels "among themselves, while they should have armed against the "common enemy." It were to be wished that similar examples of schism and division did not exist in commonwealths that make as much, or a greater, ostentation of liberty, than the ancient Greeks could do. But men are ever blind to their own defects, and the bigotry, which is condemned in our enemies, is frequently practised at home with impunity. The tolerant and exclusive merit of the Protestant religion is pointed out to the admiration of the world; but who will say that the folly or the bigotry of its votaries has not been fatally exhibited, in withholding from a sister-kingdom a participation in those rights which are unalienable from Britons?

"Inanis verborum repetitio." Livii, l. XLV. c. xii.

Swift.

"In no other country," says Mr. Buchanan, "is there such a "variety of religions, or so little concern about what true religion "is, as in British India; and men may worship any thing or no- "thing." It is the constant observation of the natives, that the

Esp. Ecc. Est. p. 27.

* See, on this word, Clarke's Paraphrase, Matt. vi. v. 7. and Beza.

English have no religion; and they wonder whence they have derived their principles of justice, humanity, magnanimity, and truth. In the eyes of the Hindoo, the Englishman is still the Cafir or the Infidel. The example also of the Catholic powers in India is pointed out by the same author as an additional motive for some effectual change in the English establishment. The Portuguese have a considerable hierarchy in India, of which Goa is the Metropolitan See*. The College de propaganda fide had their Bishops and Prefects. The Spaniards an Archbishop, and three Bishops at Manilla and the Philippine Islands. The French had a Bishop at Pondicherry, a Metropolitan for Bengal, and a Bishop at each of the two subordinate Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The Mahomedans, on conquering Hindoostan, were at considerable pains in planting their religion in all parts of their Empire, and created magnificent endowments for the establishment of their faith. Great Britain, in this respect, is accused of the grossest indifference.

Exp. Ecc. Est. c. ii.

These objections have certainly their weight, and deserve, if possible, to be removed. Some improvements indeed seem so obvious, that little dispute will probably arise about their adoption. For before any attempt is made to convert the Hindus, it is only just that the claims of our own countrymen should be preferred in the future arrangements that may be thought necessary to our increased empire, and the higher interest we have in its maintenance. To effect this, such persons should be selected, who, to the

* "The Portuguese Romanists are a bigoted, ignorant people, of whom it is impossible that the British power, or the native sovereigns of India, can entertain either jealousy or alarm. The Hindoo Governments have returned *good for evil*, for they permit them the free exercise of their religion; nor are they afraid of the exertion of their missionaries."

Cranganore and Verapoli are sounding titles for their Bishops, but the districts do not belong to Portugal.—Scott Waring's Observations on the East India Company, p. 49.

rank and dignity attached to their station, would, at the same time, give a pledge to the country, by the mildness of their manners, and the liberality of their sentiments, of not wildly endeavouring to force the natives into opinions, of the excellence of which they had not been previously convinced. "Fame and reputation spring not from the virtue of common, ordinary persons, but "of those, who are in either estate most suitable, by occasion of "their higher rank and profession. Men of this description are "burning and shining lights, to guide the ignorant and weak, "they are as cities set on the tops of hills, that others may "observe the rectitude of their actions, and thus greater glory "may redound to the God whom they serve, and the state wherein "they live." Hooker Eccl. Pol.

The first attempt to convert the Americans was made by Monks, and the missionaries of the four mendicant orders; who, as a reward for their services, were permitted to accept of parochial charges, without depending on the Bishop's jurisdiction. As a new call was made for missionaries in Europe, it was answered from the Convents, whose members cheerfully quitted their cells in search of liberty and distinction. But the men wanted for the service of India, are not of the description that issued from the Catholic convents in the sixteenth century. The deficiency so much complained of in that country, is pointed out as a serious evil, and of difficult remedy. But the difficulty springs not from the want of means, but of that due encouragement which would tempt the wise and virtuous to undertake a distant and laborious ministry. We have in our own bosoms, the *full power* of satisfying any demand that India can make upon us, and the prospect also of future supplies, from the members of the two Universities*, many of whom,

* The Universities have already their Arabic professors, but the encouragement held out to Oriental learning, is little calculated to awaken either the zeal or ambition of the Student.

there can be no doubt, upon the hope of a competent reward, would cheerfully devote themselves to the studies, which were most likely to promote the success of their service in the East. The influence of miraculous powers is not now to be expected, and the visionary dreams of enthusiasts, lead only to consequences injurious to the public repose. Men must be content with such means as human reason can suggest; they must be content to labour in the vineyard, whenever an opportunity may offer; they must be ready at all times to give a rational account of their hopes and expectations; to be, as St. Paul was, "all things to all men," reasoning, expostulating with calmness and patience, and knowing the weakness of human nature, both willing and prepared to make such allowances for it, as may not prejudice the cause they have espoused.

Under the operation and force of such examples, we are taught to expect the Divine assistance. For it is our duty as men to promote every plan that may advance the social and intellectual happiness of those with whom we are connected; and the same responsibility attaches upon every well-ordered Government, for the welfare and protection of its subjects. Independent however of political reasons, it is a duty enjoined us by the supposed will of the author of our religion. "And were the Gospel left to its own silent operation, "its principles and promises have in themselves such reason and "force, such a tendency to the present happiness of mankind in "its holy and excellent laws, that where these are fairly stated, "kindly and constantly proposed, by one who in all the other "parts of his conduct lives agreeably to them, it may reasonably "be imagined, that God in the ordinary course of his Providence, "will dispose the hearts of men to embrace them, or by some "other wonderful way of working, unforeseen by us, procure "their being received."

Bishop of Norwich's Sermon, 1710.

The necessity, therefore, of any violent interference with the religious habits of the Hindus, cannot be defended, since it is neither

consistent with reason nor Christianity. As they are wrong, they have a moral law which condemns them, nor can its enactments be safely defeated, until a purer system shall have been raised upon its foundation, or Divine Providence shall have been pleased to abrogate it for a better; and however the advocates for immediate and forcible conversion, may calumniate those who have the misfortune to differ from them in opinion, the accusation will make but little impression upon minds not altogether biassed by religious prejudices. It must indeed be allowed, that however pure the abstract theories of the Brahminical theology, they seldom produce "a "discharge of moral relations, and that ceremonies have more "weight than virtues. Even in the punishment of offences, "the influence of religion and the privileges of its ministers "are more consulted than the good of the community, and by "the laws of Menu, almost every crime was expiable by fine or "penance, proportioned more to the station of the offender, than "to the enormity of the offence." If in the Hindoo's opinion, the murder of a Cow or a Brahmin are held as offences of equal magnitude, and as crimes which can never be expiated, we may feel inclined to pity the weakness of unassisted reason; but we must reflect, that the force of prejudice to be subdued is infinitely stronger, when combined with the interest of the Brahmin to encourage an opinion so favourable to his power and pre-eminence. If the Brahmin could be persuaded that by the change of his religion, his temporal interest might be secured as well as his eternal happiness, the weight of his objections might be materially lessened; but then such an alteration of mind and habit is not to be accomplished in a moment. The English power, though at present paramount in India, is but in the infancy of its establishment: a breath may yet shake it to the ground; and if reason be given to man, that he should apply it not only to the search after future good, but for the security of present enjoyment,

Dangers of British India, p. 30.

would it be wise or politic, to run the hazard of trifling with the rooted prejudices of a people, whose attachment has been secured by the confidence they reposed in the integrity of our principles?

Let it not be said that such a practice is countenancing idolatry; or betraying any lukewarmness in the cause of revealed truth; every good man must earnestly desire the extinction of vice and superstition; but is he required to break his faith with another, because he is of a different opinion from his own? India was a heathen nation, when the first conquests of Lord Clive laid the foundation of the English greatness. The faith of the Government was then pledged to maintain inviolable the laws, religion, and local customs of the people. The subsequent conduct of the British Governors, whilst it tended to the same point, and kept alive the same persuasion, occasioned no suspicion, and excited no alarm in the breasts of the natives; and is it now asked, whilst our Eastern Empire hangs upon the slender thread of popular opinion, to strike at once at the root of it, and thereby hazard its existence? It has been said, that we are more anxious to explore the mysteries of Arabian and Asiatic law, than to contribute to the intellectual wants of our subjects! But if the establishment of schools for the education of the rejected children of Mahomedan and Hindoo parents, should not be found to militate against the prejudices of the people, no objection could be made to fix them in the places, where they could be most beneficially attended, under the controul of the Government, or of such officers as were competent to the service. Whether it may be safe to adopt at present such a system, will more properly belong to the consideration of Parliament, when the state of India shall, as it deserves, undergo a more ample investigation. The effect of similar institutions in Africa, has been a principal means of supporting and spreading the Koran. Mr. Parke asserts, that the

religious character of Englishmen, though they have been acquainted with the coast more than two hundred years, does not stand in high estimation with the natives. "Though *they* *think highly of our wealth and power*, they entertain but a mean opinion of our superior attainments in religious knowledge. The white traders in the maritime districts, take no pains to counteract this unhappy prejudice, always performing their devotions in secret, and seldom condescending to converse with the Negroes in a friendly and instructive way." Parke's Travels, p. 315.

The Mahomedans seem always to have been attentive to the propagation of their tenets. "They have translated their scriptures not only into the Persian tongue, but several others, especially the Javan and Malayan, though, out of respect to the original Arabic, those versions are generally, if not always interlineary." Sale's Koran, P. D. 91. In Africa, the Arabic language is introduced with the Mahomedan faith. In all the different towns of the interior, schools have been established, where many of the Pagan as well as Mahomedan children are taught to read the Koran, and instructed in the tenets of the Prophet: "a bias is thus fixed on the mind by the Priest, who forms the character of the young disciples, which no accident of life can ever afterwards remove." Parke's Travels, p. 61. Nor is it improbable, that had the same course been at first pursued by the English, little difficulty would have been found in the introduction of Christianity, as the Pagan Africans seem to have no predilection for, but rather an aversion to Mahomedanism.

CHAP. XVI.

CONCLUSION.

Were it granted, that the proposed arrangements should meet with no material opposition from the Hindus, that an increased Ecclesiastical establishment should have produced that change in the manners of the English residents, which seems at present to be desired; that the Hindus and Mahomedans, instead of preventing the attendance of their children and relatives at the schools, instituted for their moral improvement, should afford them the most ample encouragement; still a work of such magnitude could only be accomplished by the slow and silent progress of time. It would indeed be absurd to expect the immediate advantages, which, many have anticipated, but the distant benefits would be immense, not only as it regards their influence upon our own subjects, but probably upon the most remote corners of the Eastern world. In the mean time, the sanctions of bright example, the fair administration of justice, and its apparent connection with the constitution of the state, would soften the impressions of former misconduct, and attach the natives to a government, which they will naturally regard as under the peculiar favour of Heaven. The union of religion with justice is indeed so intimate, that the one cannot exist without the other; for it is founded in the nature of things, that every duty, both public and private, will be the more faithfully performed in proportion to the virtue and piety of the agents. "Let polity therefore acknowledge her-" self indebted to religion, which is the well spring of all good " things. Without this union, the formalities of justice do but

"serve to smother right, and that which was ordained for the "common good, is only made, through shameful negligence, the "instrument of common misery."

Allowing even that a more serious attention to the religious instruction of the British residents in India, should not produce the immediate conversion of the natives, its influence upon European manners might induce the best consequences. Whether the reproach cast upon the English nation be just or not, the slightest observation of mankind will prove, that "at a distance from home, men are no "longer restrained by the fear of being ashamed to see their coun- "trymen. In a warm climate, where the body loses its vigor, the "mind must lose some of its force. In a country where nature and "custom lead to indulgence, men are apt to be seduced. In "countries where they come for the purpose of growing rich, they "easily forget to be upright." If men imagining themselves too wise for instruction, refused to be guided by the opinions of the multitude, and join in the ceremonies of the Sabbath, they would at least be taught to respect them; curbed by the dread of exposure, the most flagrant vices might at least be concealed from public view, and cease to be contagious by their eminence and impunity; and the desire of wealth, or the pursuit of intemperate pleasures, might at length yield to the refinements of taste and learning, and the practice of the moral and social virtues. This is far from being a fanciful picture of human perfection, for it is evinced, both from experience and history, that the faithful discharge of the duties of religion, is always manifested in the state of public happiness. It is not however expected, that the appointment of any particular order of Priests, however dignified with new honours, and adorned with all the respect attached to high literary attainments, would immediately effect so desirable a revolution. Human improvement, unless acted

Raynal's India, Vol. I. p. 379.

upon by very powerful circumstances, must be always progressive. Man has a natural thirst for knowledge: it is "ingrafted "on him as a spur to industry, but from the original weakness "of the instruments, the very idea of painfulness is as a bridle "to stay him." Education and instruction must, therefore, supply this defect; they are the only means, the one by use, the other by precept, of improving the faculties of reason and judgment. For when the mind at an early period, is not accustomed to behold and admire examples of integrity and honour, or taught to shun with horror and contempt the habits of vice; what fruits of justice or virtue can be expected from the practices of maturer years. It can only be necessary to enforce these truths, in order that the same advantages may be extended to the British residents in the East, which they might have possessed in their own country.

Hooker.

The contagion of example is indeed difficult to be resisted in a country where all at present invites to dissipation, and is only to be counteracted by strengthening the habits and religious impressions of early life. Many of the acts which are openly countenanced by the Hindoo or Mahomedan, would by the natives of the more civilized governments of Europe be viewed with disgust, or be subject to the penalties of the law; but with the Moslem in particular, the most endearing terms of affection and friendship pledged to men, are frequently used as the instruments of treachery and dishonour. "What else can be expected from those, who seem to "disregard the ceremony of an oath when it interferes with their "interest, and who, by the observance of a few stated prayers and "incoherent Arabic ejaculations, believe that they have procured "the divine licence to violate the laws of justice?" "If they do "not scruple to commit such acts on each other, what is to with-"hold their attacks on those of a different faith? More especi-"ally when we reflect that an insult to a Nazarene, is an act

Sir W. Jones's Charge to the Grand Juries, Calcutta,

Forster's Travels.

Buchanan, Esp. E.E. p. 115.

" of duty and of highest merit *." But a better acquaintance with the merits of Christianity, will probably make the Mahomedan think more charitably of its professors, an opinion which he is not likely to adopt from the belief and practices of either Greek or Armenian. The British conquests in the East have now attached a higher eminence to the English character; even in the eyes of the zealous Mussulman, the Christian Religion will not be the less respected, if supported by the power of the sword; and though he should hesitate in adopting its tenets, he will at least be fearful of calling down by his presumption the vengeance of the conqueror. To imagine that either the aged Hindoo will instantly renounce his idol, or the Moslem the creed of his Prophet, would imply little knowledge of the rooted prejudices of mankind: a more reasonable hope may be indulged, that the rising generation, from the frequency and familiarity of European intercourse, will be less partial to their national tenets, and be more ready to adopt the purer light of the Gospel! Under the eye and parental management of an appropriate Ecclesiastical Establishment, the rudiments of general knowledge might be diffused through the provinces; the Pundits might be taught to divest religion and philosophy of the trappings of allegory and mystery, and the system of their superstition, thus exposed to a severe ex-

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* Most travellers complain of the insolence they meet with in Asia, a great portion of it is from the memory of former hostilities, and the total ignorance which the Eastern nations live under of what concerns the real merits of Christianity. " I do not wonder," says Mr. Jackson, " that the Turks should entertain such a prejudice against the Christian religion, for all the Christian countries bordering upon the Turkish Empire, (and even the Greeks and Armenians among the Turks) have their crucifixes and images, which represent a kind of idol worship, to which all Mussulmen have a particular aversion, and that alone is sufficient to prevent them from making any inquiries into the real merits of Christianity." Journey from India, p. 165.

amination, would sink under the test of truth. It is also alleged that the probability of such an event is still farther increased, by the present state of the people*. They are said to be divided, "to have no common interest, and to be altogether so "ignorant of writing, that there is no general communication "among them, political or religious." The very Brahmins themselves, the sacred guardians of their faith, are accused of being split into sects, bearing to each other the most marked antipathies, and guided by no certain tenets, or ecclesiastical polity.

Buchanan Exp. Eccl. Est. p. 23, 107.

If this apathy be true of the Hindus, the Mahomedan Indians are far from being more fervent in the cause of their religion; and Mr. Forster states, that they regard their Prophet little more than Thomas a Becket. The Mahomedans seem indeed to have every where lost their ancient character, and the Koran itself has experienced the severest check from some of the descendants of its earliest followers. The Turkish empire has long been shaken to its foundations. Both Turks and Tartars bear to the Persians and the other Shiites, the most irreconcileable hatred. Many of the Turkish provinces are in open revolt, and prepared for any change both social and religious, which the power of the conqueror may impose. Nor is it perhaps so difficult as is generally supposed, to effect under prudent management a great political and religious revolution in Asia. "The Bedouin Arabs more "especially, think lightly of the Koran, and its pretended Pro-"phet." Amidst the controversies of opposing factions, the dreaded name of Mahomed has lost its accustomed respect; and even

Volney's Syria. Vol. I. p. 416—18.

* Mr. Buchanan says, the people follow the Christian Missionaries in crowds, ask for instruction, and attend with pleasure to the disputation between him and the Brahmins. If, the people themselves, awake to their own concerns, ask this boon, no one will assuredly, upon any grounds of philosophy or reasons of state, refuse to grant their request in its fullest extent.

the great seat and centre of Islam *, Mecca and Medina, has been ravaged by the new and increasing sect of the Wahabees †. If the prejudices of the Eastern nations are thus daily losing their force, the probability of an important change in their religious opinions becomes comparatively greater, and the obstacles that have been hitherto stated, may admit of an easy remedy. That, under prudent councils, the British nation may be eventually instru-

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* Islam is the saving religion so called by Mahomed.—Ockley's Saracens, p. 14—219.

† Abdul Waheb in 1760, having travelled on commercial affairs into India and Persia, adopted, from the appearance of the diversity of the several religions there prevalent, the idea of an universal toleration; returning to his own country, he erected an independent state in the Najd, and asserted among the followers, who, allured by the hopes of plunder, soon flocked around his standards, "that God "alone should be adored, and that the Prophet's book was not inspired." In 1803 Abdul took Mecca, plundered the Mosques, and destroyed the inhabitants; after having defeated the Ottoman armies, he was marching against Medina, when his victorious progress was arrested, by the Plague and Small-Pox breaking out in his army. The Divan was alarmed, lest the authority of the Sultaun might be questioned, as he can only retain the name of Caliph, a name so revered by Mahomedans, whilst he is master of Mecca and Medina. The doctrines of Abdul spread quickly through Arabia; and even Syria and Anatolia were infected by them. The Turkish Government was at length roused by the danger, and levied fresh armies, but, trusting rather to treachery than force, a treaty was concluded, and Abdul was assassinated by a fanatical Mussulman. The son of Abdul revenged his father's death, and Mecca and Medina soon felt the weight of his arms. The Ottoman Power is shaken in Europe, and it is probable, that the propagation of the new opinions will accelerate its dissolution in Asia. Volney's Syria. Edin. Review, No. XV. p. 42 to 45.

See a fuller account of the Wahabees.—Scott Waring's Sheeraz, chap. xxxi. They seem to consider the destruction of all the holy places of sepulchre as an act of piety. Thus is the foundation stone of Mahomedanism destroyed, which had long been supported by the pilgrimages to Mecca ‡.

‡ Nothing so much at present preserves the veneration of the Hindus for their idols, as their frequent pilgrimages to their Pagodas.—Tavernier's Indian Travels, Part II. Book III. Chap. xiii.

mental in promoting so desirable an object, there cannot be any reason to doubt; but it would be the extreme of madness, in the present political state of the world, to venture upon such an experiment without the best warranty for its success, since a failure would inevitably bring with it the ruin of the British Empire. All wise methods might, therefore, be instantly adopted, and every good man would readily contribute to their support. "What advantages might not the Spaniards have conferred on the Americans? They had a mild religion to impart to them; but they gave them a mad superstition. They might have set slaves at liberty; they made free-men slaves. They might have undeceived them with regard to the abuse of human sacrifices; instead of that they destroyed them." Their dominion might have been made a blessing, but their power was only known by the rod and the rack, and those whom they dreaded to retain as subjects, were extirpated as rebels to an usurped authority. It were worse than folly not to improve from such examples. Spain forgot her character of native honour and patriotism; her warriors and statesmen became the instruments of faction and superstition, and she has long rued her error in the bitterness of political degradation.

Montesquieu, Book X. c. v.

The fate of empires is not to be left to the fluctuations of chance, nor the caprices of individuals. What has been raised by genius, power, and fortune, is only to be preserved by prudence, and good policy requires that the attention of the people and the Legislature should be directed to the state of Hindoostan, not only as to what regards the designs, the force, and the politics of the nations which surround it, but in a still more essential view, its internal interests, and the means of so attaching the natives to our cause, as to secure a dominion obtained at the expense of so much blood and treasure. Perhaps, if it were possible to introduce the Chris-

tian religion among the Indians under the British dominion, it might tend to separate them from the influence of neighbouring states, and unite them by the indissoluble ties of love, and religious sympathy! Nor can it be believed, that any dread of the consequences that would arise from a religion which makes all men equal, any cold or partial views of remote probabilities, any calculating effects of commercial interest, would interfere with a claim, seconded by the feelings both of policy and justice. It is indeed but natural to conclude, that the imparting a purer faith to Hindoostan, so far from lessening, would increase the political power of Great Britain, for the more the natives believed themselves indebted to the religion they had received, the higher estimation they would attach to their instructors; nor would the principles of Christianity properly engraven on the heart, ever countenance disaffection or rebellion, unless the oppression of their rulers should teach the people to respect and assert their own inalienable rights.

The Dutch and the Portuguese, from the effects of bigotry and a narrow policy, with all the advantages they possessed of civilizing the natives under their jurisdiction, have not only endeavoured to conceal all information relative to their colonies, but have checked, by their absurd regulations, the progress of improvement. The French have been more active, but with different motives. They professed a regard for the benefit of the people, but their real object was power and aggrandizement. The same reproaches have been cast upon the English; nor can the general truth of the accusation be refuted; but it does not so much attach to the great body of the nation*, which has disavowed and condemned the pleas of conquest

* In a late important debate, it might have been expected that the House would have adopted the plan of 1772 and 1782, and appointed a Committee to make a

and aggression, as to those who with the means of alleviating the wants and improving the moral habits of the people, have devoted their time and talents to the gratifications of a restless ambition, and the cruel triumphs of military glory. But "though men may "impose upon themselves what they please, by their corrupt imagi- "nations, truth will ever keep its station; and as glory is nothing "else but the shadow of virtue, it will certainly disappear at the de- "parture of virtue." "The English should no longer account "themselves sojourners in this country, they are now virtually its "Lords paramount, and their policy should not be that of a day, "but, considering the opulence and wealth of the subject as closely "tending to enrich the common state, they should at large support "his wants, and encourage his labour." "A conduct equally wise "and profitable would tend to the increase of public and private "prosperity, and operate as a compensatory retribution, for some ac- "tions which cannot bear the test of investigation, and which have "already involved the national character in disgrace."

Spectator.

Forster's Trav. Vol. I. p. 3.

If, through the decrees of Providence, the Empire of Hindoostan has been submitted to our arms, can it be imagined, that we fulfil his decrees by making it a source of wealth to ourselves, and of misery to the natives? or that we are bound to use no reasonable efforts to promote his own wise and benevolent purposes, but are excused from all responsibility by compromising our duties, or neglecting them altogether? "The perfection of glory," says Tully,

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complete revision of the affairs of India; "for if the Parliament gives a sanction "to all the flagrant outrages which have been committed in India, against the "rights of independent Princes, in violation of all principles of justice, honour, "and faith, in the estimation of the world, the country will stand chargeable with "many of those crimes which have been so much reprobated in others."—Parlia- mentary Debates, 1808.

" consists in these three particulars, that the people love us; that " they have confidence in us; that being affected with a certain ad- " miration towards us, they think we deserve honour." This was spoken of greatness in a commonwealth, but upon what other foundation stands our own power in Hindoostan, but the opinion of the justice of our principles. If this ceases to operate, admiration ceases, and dislike takes the place of confidence and attachment. " A Christian " policy, it is observed, will ever look to the Christian religion for the " perpetuity of Empire." The axiom is indisputable so far as it regards ourselves, and its effects cannot but be felt and appreciated by the natives. But a Christian policy looks not only to the present but the future; it will calculate the influence of climate, the danger of circumstances, the contagion of example; and to prevent their effects, it will select such persons as, incapable themselves of being guided by any narrow views of policy or expedience, will feel their own happiness intimately blended with the prosperity of the people.

Buchanan Exp. Eccle. Est.

The nation has been struck with the report of excesses committed in the East. The Parliament has been agitated with the accusation of individuals, the violated rights of Princes, and the cries of an injured people. Is it not then high time that some revolution was effected, that an Empire, upon which our own political existence may depend, should not be left to an uncertain Government; that some system should be adopted which affected not merely the regulation of the present but the conduct of the future; and that the power so frequently complained of should be confided to such hands, or limited by such checks, as would obviate the danger of future transgressions? " The friends of humanity will then applaud our success, they will " incline to hope they may once more see prosperity revive in a coun- " try, embellished by nature, and no longer ravaged by despotism. It " will be pleasing to them to think that the calamities which afflicted " those fertile countries are for ever removed from them. They will

Raynal's India, Vol. I. B. III.

" pardon those usurpations which have been only for the despoiling of " tyrants, and they will invite us to new conquests, when they see " the influence of our sublime constitution of Government extending " itself even to the very extremities of Asia, to give birth to liberty, " property, and happiness."

If these representations have, however, no effect, and the country and the Parliament continue deaf to the suggestions of prudence, or sunk in the torpor of luxury, let their attention be directed to the map of India, and the obvious necessity of some effectual change cannot fail to awaken them to serious reflection. Our Indian territories are not only surrounded by powerful neighbours, and composed of individual and jarring principalities, but we have still a more dangerous enemy to contend with, who is ever watchful to improve by our errors, and to raise against us the standard of revolt.

The condition of the bordering states has been already under consideration, and shall here only be briefly noticed. Though the divisions and convulsions of Hindoostan, after the death of Nadir Shah, gave a decided superiority to the Afghans, they are not at present to be considered as formidable enemies, if unaided by European forces. The Persians, from whom the Afghans have wrested Korasan, are hostile to them, not only from religious prejudice, but from the deep resentment of former injuries; and should the Persian Empire rise again into importance, the Afghans would, in all probability, either feel the weight of a foreign yoke, or be compelled to retire into the shelter of their mountains.

Forster's Trav.

The descendant of Abdallah, who had so often ravaged the plains of Hindoostan, retains at this day, on the eastern side of the Indus, the principality of Cashmere, the district of Attock, with some scattered divisions of Moultan, including the city and territory of Scind; but many of these places pay only a nominal obedience to their Sovereign, and remit the revenues to Cabul, as they are prompted either

by fear or convenience. The Sheiks, who bear the Afghans an inveterate hatred, carry on with them a continual warfare. The Afghans themselves are not under any regular controul, nor is there much reason to consider the present Prince of Cabul* as an object of dread to the bordering States, or that he is justly styled the Comet of the East, "who, at some unexpected moment, would "shoot across the Indus and the Ganges, and consume even our "remote province of Bengal." From the Tartar powers there can be little apprehension of combined hostility. The Turcomans of the present day are no longer that formidable people who, under the name of Goths and Vandals, issuing from Bochara, Khieva, and the shores of the Caspian Sea, ultimately subdued the dominions of Rome; and whose posterity was seen in Asia, under Zenghis and Tamerlane, seated on the most splendid throne of the world. The present Chief of Bochara exercises but a limited power; nor are the Tartars of the more eastern regions, the modern conquerors of China, who may be ranged under the common denomination of Moguls and Kalmuks, and are divided into various roving hordes, any longer a cause of terror to the southern nations of Asia. For a considerable time Persia has been the great field for the Tartar incursions. Plunder is, however, the only object; the tribes wander without much concert, and their rapacity is satisfied with the spoils of a district or a village; for, governed by petty Chiefs, and a prey to private feuds and jealousies, Persia has long presented to her neighbours an easy booty and a safe retreat. Forster's Trav. Beatson's India.

Our only real and dangerous enemy in the East is France. The French Government has long regarded with jealousy the British Empire in India, and through all the eventful changes which that

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* He was to have made a diversion in favour of Tippoo.

devoted country has experienced, the idea of repairing its former disasters by the destruction of our power, has never once forsaken its rulers; they have still cherished in the bosom of the native Princes, the hope of future deliverance, and pledging themselves as their protectors and allies, have ever secretly fomented the spark of rebellion.

Raynal's India, B. IV. p. 497 to 502. Beatson's India. Sir Geo. Dallas's Vindication of Lord Wellesley.

Nor is it probable that France, under any mode of Government, will be satisfied with her exclusion from India, or in appearing there no longer as under the splendid career of Dupleix and Bussi, the sovereign, not the humble factor of the Decan? To the East her views are incessantly directed, knowing that its riches and commerce are one of the great springs of the political importance of her rival, and the principal means by which her own gigantic power has been so long defied and humbled. Hence Egypt became, as well under the old Administration, as under the revolutionary Government, a favourite object of ambition. It was by the conquest of Egypt and Syria that, in the language of Bonaparte, "he was to strike a "blow at England, which will be followed up by its destruction." And in the proposed partition of the spoils of the Ottoman Empire, Egypt was to have been the portion allotted to France. If, however, all his former schemes have been thwarted, the hopes of the French Emperor are not yet cooled by disappointment: his attention is still fixed upon the same object; and should a peace interfere with his pretensions upon Egypt, or his present scheme of conquest through Persia be happily frustrated, his future views may be turned towards colonizing, or acquiring some portion of the Eastern peninsula; and Cochin-China may become the seat of a power whose industry and activity may enable him, at some future period, to divide with Great Britain the commerce and riches of the East.

Barrow's S. Afr. Vol. II. p. 186. 202.

In all their pursuits abroad, the French have been indefatigable. The rights of men were translated into the language of some of the

country powers; "the Sheiks were furnished with an abstract of this "work in their own language, and the same attempt was made for "China*; but from the difficulty of transfusing the flimsy sentiments "of the writer into the Chinese language, the experiment failed of "success." The French emissaries practised the same arts upon the late Tippoo Sultaun, and established a Jacobin club at Seringapatam. In Hyderabad they had proceeded to still greater extremities. In the Birman Empire†, they laboured to undermine the British character, and to insinuate themselves, by their services, into the favour of the Court. In Cochin-China, they translated the Encyclopédié des Connoissances humaines into the language of the country; the natives were instructed to build ships of war, and the soldiers were trained to the use of artillery. To what purpose are all these labours; but that in the end they may be turned against us, and that in the moment of difficulty these seeds of mischief may be matured to the ruin of our Empire?

Barrow's China p. 396.

Barrow's China

But if there could have existed a doubt upon the subject, if men

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* "The French have held forth every encouragement to Chinese literature; they "know that the Chinese character is understood from the Gulph of Siam to the Tar-"tarian Sea, and over a very considerable part of the Eastern Archipelago; that the "Cochin-Chinese, with whom they have already firmly rooted themselves, use no "other writing than the pure Chinese character, which is also the case with the Ja-"panese."

Barrow's China p. 615.

† The mission to the Birman Government failed, in a great measure, from the artful suggestions of the British enemies at the Court of Ava. The French had acquired there a considerable influence, and the unfavourable reports they spread of the views and relative situation of the British Empire, both in the East and the West, were seconded by the Armenian and Mussulmen merchants, who insinuated, that our overtures, if they did not spring from treachery, originated in fear.

Symes's Ava, p. 365. 398. On the relative importance of the Birman Empire, &c. see ch. xx. ibid.

The French, though they dared not avow their equalizing principles, left no art unpractised, through the means of their emissaries, to raise doubts, and create distrust of the English. Their industry to this effect was restless and unremitting.

can still be so blind and unthinking as not to perceive the designs of the French, and to trace the consequences of our own ambitious views in the East, credulity itself must be satisfied with the opinions that have since been proclaimed by the French Government, in which it is declared, without the wish, or the design of concealment, "That not "in Europe, but in Asia, not on the Danube and in the Dardanelles, "but on the Euphrates and the Indus," the prize of Empire must at length be contested. The signal of danger has been given by ourselves, and we alone must be answerable for the event. The same aspiring views which have been blamed in France, England has unwisely adopted. What man, in his sober reason, can, in the present convulsed state of the globe, look coolly upon the danger of British India, either from foreign enemies or intestine foes? Waving even the probability of European opposition, is there nothing to be apprehended from internal dissensions? Is our power so secured that it cannot be shaken? Is the Empire we have established in the East of a nature not to be subverted? There is here no occasion to launch out into the wide regions of probability; for the danger is too imminent to be met on the uncertainties of conjecture. We know that the natives are tranquil, that they are not impatient of controul, "that they are even passive, so long as their "prejudices of mere opinion are not violated. Mere oppression and "mal-administration they will endure." "The sovereign Princes "may be impatient of our controul, but that touches rather upon a "question of external than *internal* policy." It would not then have been among the people governed, that we should have had to dread the consequences of rebellion, for our Empire would have been lasting as long as we had continued firm and faithful to our original engagements; but if we have idly tampered with their principles, if we have brought our integrity into question, the bubble must burst, and the Hindus and Mussulmen will cease to venerate the

See Remarks on the King's Speech, Moniteur, 3d Feb. 1808.

Considerations upon the Trade with India, 1807.

charm which has hitherto bound them to submission. It would be absurd to insist on the physical strength of Great Britain over a population of 50 millions of subjects; and a far greater number bordering on her territories. The same alarm excited in one instance would operate upon all; the standard of religious terror once raised would unite all ranks; the Sheik would combine with the Afghan, the Mahratta with the Mahomedan; distinctions would be lost in the idea of a common principle, and the tempest would be irresistible.

It is true, Scindia and Holkar have been defeated, but they have not been subdued. By an increase of dominion, we have extended our borders, but have we either blunted or disarmed the point of resistance? If the dread of religious persecution should have passed from the Coast and the Ganges, to the borders of the Hydaspes and the Sewalic Mountains, can we doubt what would be the result of the combined impression? The voice of a people may be guided, but it cannot be controuled; and no analogy can here lie between the state of Europe under the dynasty of France, and Hindoostan under the controul of England. Were our native troops to desert us, where would be the power, from our comparative strength, to oppose the efforts of a country raised into rebellion under the pretext (however just or not) of rescuing from violation the religion of their Fathers?

But were there no interior causes to excite a just apprehension for our Indian possessions, what has been said of the French influence and prospects will be sufficient, it is presumed, to awaken the attention of the most common observer. If the concert of Russia and the Porte can be relied upon in the prosecution of the schemes of Napoleon, a part of the army in Dalmatia, might march in concert with that in Moldavia, to Constantinople, and a few months would conduct them to the Banks of the Euphrates. A slight

geographical knowledge might indeed shew the difficulties to be encountered in such a march, but they are difficulties not physically impossible to surmount, and the storm must ultimately fall upon that Empire which has been gained with so much toil, and which it may be now feared we are willing to hazard upon a dangerous experiment. If there be any prudence in man, if there be any conduct in the nation, if there be any wisdom and integrity in Parliament, let not a measure so deeply connected with the national interests be committed to an uncertain hazard; and should the point come to the decision of the God of battles, may we have never to reflect in the consciousness of defeat, that this failure is to be attributed to our own folly, indolence, and presumption.

Objections have been urged, and with much appearance of justice, against the partiality which has been shewn to the commercial above the landed interest; a jealousy of this preponderance has been properly excited in the country, and theories have been started, which, perhaps, at any other time, would have found less able advocates. But it would be idle to assert, that the Indian trade has not proved, amongst others, beneficial to the country, or that it has not been as much a source of wealth and maritime power to Great Britain, as it was to the several nations, under whose direction, it was carried on. As to the general benefit of commerce, whatever may have been the impolicy of former systems, and whatever the evils it inseparably brings in its train, we must acknowledge that in the present state of the world, it is the great mean of protecting our liberty and happiness, and the principal support of the State, under the heavy trials to which it is exposed. It is hence that we are able to maintain and man our navy, to keep up a high military establishment, and to preserve ourselves from that tyranny which has paralysed the spirit of surrounding nations. Whilst agriculture and commerce act and re-act upon each other, the nation may be rich, and

the people happy. But should the two interests be separated, or commerce be suffered to preponderate over the natural strength and resources of the country, the change will be soon apparent in the general decay; the Senate will become corrupt, its vaccillating Councils will betray the loss of liberty and independence; the people will renounce their confidence in their rulers; patriotism will yield to indifference or despotism; and the Government must either sink under the pressure of its own imbecility, or the Constitution must revert to its original principles by one of those efforts that characterizes a nation, which knows how to vindicate its own inalienable rights, if unjustly diminished.

India is a mine of gold, if managed with economy and prudence; but used with the improvidence of the Spaniards towards South America, individuals may grow richer, but the nation will be impoverished, and its freedom endangered. This is no measure of party, but a strict obligation of public duty. When the enemy is at the gates, every man should be at his post; and his rallying point should neither be the servile creed of a Minister, nor the language of a faction, but the manliness of integrity and the paramount claims of his country. The wealth of India does not consist, like that of Mexico and Peru, in gold and silver, which impoverished and depopulated Spain, but in articles of more intrinsic and permanent value; articles which "require and nourish labour, and promote in- "dustry, the true sources of population and greatness. By retrench- "ing the public expenses on a system of prudent economy, by "opening new avenues of commerce, new subjects of mechanical "labour and ingenuity, the British Government may accomplish "a work that would render their name immortal, and confer the "most solid and lasting benefits on their country.

Tayler's Trav. from England to India, Vol. I. p. 360.

In a word, whilst India offers to us so many advantages, shall we take no care to secure them to ourselves, to our countrymen

settled there, and to the natives from whose labours they are derived? Shall we treat them not as subjects, entitled by their allegiance to a participation in our privileges, but as creatures, made only for our convenience, as men incapable of improvement, and therefore undeserving our attention?

Considerations upon the Trade with India, 1807, p. 186.

"It must be agreed by every one that a Government for British "India must be suited to the character, manners, and prejudices "of the natives: that is, whatever shape the political presiding "power may assume, no alteration ought to be made in the munici- "cipal institutions, no violence offered to the peculiar customs; "no change attempted in the religious opinions or establishments of "Hindoostan. It was thus that the Romans left to the people "they conquered the undisturbed enjoyment of their laws and "their religion." "The only part of the British constitution from "which the people of Hindoostan can derive benefit, is the spirit "of it, which considers the good of the subject as the end of "Government; and that responsibility of all authority, which is "the security against abuse." These advantages may be given without danger; on the contrary, they will confirm the security of our Empire, and establish it upon a durable basis.

We complain already of the change of manners accomplished by the introduction of the treasures of the East and West: we lament the corruptions which, from the effects of an extended commerce, and the influx of foreign wealth, have crept into the State, in all its branches; but where will these evils cease, if the Ganges continue to pour in upon us the tide of corruption? If we only send our countrymen there to enrich their coffers, and teach them by our apathy, to disregard the moral and religious instructions of their fathers? Burke. "Was it not the sudden plunder of the East that "gave a final blow to the freedom of Rome? and what reason have "we to expect a better fate, if the evil genius of British liberty

"should blind us to the consequences of our present Government of "India?"

If, with this awful warning before us, we pay no greater regard than we have hitherto done to these immense springs of our political importance; if, from indolence, corruption, or impolicy, we continue to proceed in the same course of Eastern Government, and slight the duties attached to our rank as sovereigns over a people generally mild and inoffensive; if we foolishly interfere with their religious prejudices, and attempt to compel them to adopt a different creed, ere we have convinced them, by education and reflection, of its superior excellence; if we countenance, by our own example, the vices we affect to condemn in others, it will not be difficult to predict that the Empire of England over India is only "the baseless "fabric of a vision;" an Empire raised upon the sand, which the first tempest will overwhelm.

A momentary reformation is not sufficient; our views must be carried into futurity; we must learn to conquer all the old and absurd prejudices of our former Government, and endeavour as much to attach the natives by the moderation and justice of our actions, as by the terror of our arms. As India is at present governed, "we find wars begun and ended, without the "least knowledge, concurrence, approbation, or censure, of Par- "liament. We do not know the *fact*; we do not know the "cause; we do not know the consequence; we do not know "what British blood, what British wealth or honour are engaged "in the quarrel, till it is too late to recede or remedy." Is this a system that can or ought to continue? Shall it be said that, in the enlightened period of the nineteenth century, the British Parliament met to deliberate upon the affairs of a great Empire, confided to its protection, without knowing or using the means necessary for its happiness and security?

Considerations upon the Trade with India, p. 141.

It is not here designed, in the smallest degree, to bring invidiously into question the credit and character of any individual; it is not here considered as a measure of private interest, but of absolute political duty; and let the facts, as they have been stated, speak for themselves: all parties seem indeed to believe that the system is somewhere wrong; and that, it leads, at all events, to malversations, which only excite contention, without promising amendment. The late wars in India, though happily terminated, have perhaps only more plentifully engendered the seeds of future rebellion: the storm may be allayed, but the thunder still rolls at a distance, and the skies may again be overcast. Let us not be deceived by the appearance of tranquillity; let us not rest securely on the acquisitions we have lately made, or in the belief of their permanency, whilst there is a chance, that revenge may be lurking in the breast of the vanquished, or jealousy in the bosom of the ally! The late unfortunate event at Vellore has excited a general attention, and none but those who are obstinately blind, or perhaps involved in the guilt, can be insensible to the consequences of entrusting power in the hands of men ignorant of the feelings and character of the people, whom they are either to instruct or command. "It is against similar misconduct that we have most "to guard; for in India mere folly may prove as mischievous as "the most enormous crimes." There is here no occasion to be deceived by unfavourable clamours. The fact is clearly ascertained: its mischievous tendency has been at present quelled; but conspiracy may be yet on foot, and its influence may still rankle in the silent murmurings of the breast.

Considerations upon the Trade with India.

The question of improving the moral condition of Hindoostan is intimately connected with its political regulations; the beneficent spirit of the one will act with a proportionate force upon the other. The mind, as it is freed from the shackles of despotism, will

learn to weigh the errors of superstition in a fairer balance; objects will then be seen through a different medium, and the excellency of a system will not be measured by its antiquity, but its intrinsic excellence.

Let it not however be supposed that these questions have been canvassed with any view of withholding from those who have espoused the cause of immediate conversion, the praise that is due to well-meant exertions. So far from being discouraged, their labours seem justly entitled to every possible support, when employed in countries less civilized, and among a people less attached to the tenets of their fathers, than the natives of Hindoostan, and where, besides any precipitate inteference with national customs might not endanger the fabric of our political greatness. Circumstances may arise, and indeed sooner than at present enters into the consideration of any man, when these difficulties may be removed; when the Hindoo may not merely respect the Gospel, but demand instruction from its teachers, and adopt the lessons of a purer faith; but until that period shall arrive, or a more favourable disposition of events shall have lessened the prospect of the danger, let us at least be careful of trampling upon the forms and ordinances of a people, whose antiquity and former character entitle them to consideration; and whose peaceable submission to our power must rather depend upon the opinion they entertain of our virtues, than the force, by which we can secure it. If then we cannot approve the grossness of their idolatries, let us use those rational means of mildness, charity, and persuasion, which have ever more force than harshness and intemperance. With the aid also of such an improved establishment as may be adequate to the increasing wants of the British Residents, it would not be presumptuous to hope, that their labours combined with the increased attention of the Government to the happiness of the people, would, under the

Divine Protection, have the effect desired by the most zealous and enthusiastic of our countrymen.

It is by such regulations that the evils which have been deplored, may be effectually removed; that, instead of being the drain of our public *strength*, instead of spreading wide in the bosom and sanctuary of the ruling State, the seeds of corruption and decay, India may become a fruitful source of revenue, and of public happiness. It is by such conduct that we can discharge the important trust committed to our hands, and obliterate the reproach from our national character: thus alone may we secure the attachment of the present race of Hindus, who will transmit to their children the sentiments of their happiness, mixed with those of their gratitude: thus will the memory of former usurpations pass away, and be forgotten, and India, rescued from tyranny and abasement, by the fostering care of Great Britain, may then repay the benefits she has received, by becoming the seat of Liberty, Happiness, and Virtue.

APPENDIX FOR FIRST PART.

No. 1.—ATTOCK.

Refers to Page 8, and 171.

MR. FORSTER speaks of the Attock in the same terms, and says, that after crossing its boundaries, all distinctions of Tribes cease, and that a scrupulous diet is no more observed. Such, however, have been the effects of the wars and convulsions of India, that these boundaries are now less religiously observed. Some even of the Brahmin Tribe are settled at Tershish; many Hindus are to be found at Meschid, Yezd, Kachan, Casbin, and some parts of the Caspian Sea; and still more extensive societies are to be seen in the different towns of the Persian Gulph, where, they maintain a commerce with the Western Coast of India. The Moultan Indians settled at Baku, contribute largely to the circulation of commerce, and together with the Armenians, may be accounted the chief merchants of *Shirvan*, a part of ancient Albania. The Hindus of this quarter embark at Tatta on the lower tract of the Indus, whence they proceed to Bussorah, and there accompany the Persian Caravans. Some also travel inland to the Caspian Sea, by the way of Candahar and Herat, though the former route is preferred, to avoid the exactions and insults of the Afghans. Some Hindoo merchants and Sanyassee mendicants, passed in the ship with Mr. Forster, from Baku to Astracan, where he found a Pagoda, and a small society of Hindus.

Forster's Travels from India.

No. 2.—GUELPHS.

Refers to Page 22.

GUELPH, Duke of Bavaria, was one of the most strenuous supporters of the Papal power, hence the name of the Guelph Faction, in opposition to that of the Emperor or the Ghibelline. Henry IV. strenuously opposed the Papal innovations, but was at length anathematized, his subjects driven to revolt, and Rodolph, Duke of *Swabia*, who had deserted his cause, was raised in his place to the throne. Henry in vain resisted the combined power of his enemies, and was length compelled to cross the Alps in penance, in the depth of winter, to solicit the restoration of his kingdom, and to supplicate the pardon of the licentious
A. D. 1077. Pontiff, who was residing in his Castle of Canusium, with the beautiful Matilda, Countess of Tuscany. Henry, however, lived to revenge the insult; Gregory afterwards fell into his power, his enemies were routed, and Rome submitted to his arms.

No. 3.—ARMENIANS.

Refers to Pages 42, 131, 313.

Tavernier's Travels, Book I. c. iv.

THE ruin of this country in the Turkish wars, and the consequent removal of the Armenians by Shah Abbas to Ghilan and Ispahan *, brought many of them into the capitals of Europe, where the art of printing gave them an opportunity of multiplying copies of their Scriptures *in their native* tongue, and of sending them among their dispersed countrymen in the East. This has in a great measure contributed to the preservation of their re-

* They built the city of Zulfa or Jolfa, separated from Ispahan by the river Senderon.

ligion and communion. The Armenians have by turns been united to the Greek and Latin Churches, and at this day they retain from the latter, many of its superstitious ceremonies. Their version of the Bible is called the Queen of Versions, and was supposed to have been composed about the year 412; it is considered by them to be an inspired work. The Armenians are the Jews of the East; they are described by various authors, as men "lost "to patriotism," subtle, faithless, and indefatigable, whose industry is usually seconded by a competent capacity, and who have long viewed with jealousy the progress of the European colonies, imagining, that it threatened the annihilation of that influence, which they have supported for a long series of years in the administration of many of the Eastern Governments, particularly in those of the Birman Empire and Pegu.

Hist. d'Armenie La Croze, Lib. IV. p. 333.

Sir W. Jones, Buchanan, E. E. E. p. 123. Forster's Travels, Vol. II. p. 117.

Symes's Ava, p. 44.

No. 4.—TURKS.

Refers to Pages 19, 65, 287.

About eighty years after the death of Mahomed, the Arabs invaded by order of the Caliph Waled I. the country of the Turks or Turcomans, and compelled them to adopt the Koran, and to pay tribute. The name of Turk was not originally peculiar to the nation, to which it is now applied: it denoted in general, all the hordes dispersed to the East, and even to the North of the Caspian Sea; as far as beyond Lake Aral, over the countries which have taken from them the name of Turkestan. They are the same people who were known to the ancient Greeks by the name of Parthians, Massagetæ, and even of Scythians, for which we have substituted that of Tartars.

Volney's Syria, p. 90, 94.

The Turkish hordes were driven from Karasm, Bokhara, and Samarcand, back to the desert in 710, these countries were, how-

Gibbon's Roman Empire, chap. li.

ever, rich and populous under their dominion; for the Sogdian merchants supplied the mutual wants of India and Europe.

See Knolles and Cantemir's Hist. Turks, passim.

No. 5.—SEIKS.

Refers to Page 82.

Rennel's Mem. M. Hind. cxxii.

THE Seiks or Seigues, are an independent nation, bordering upon the dominions of the Afghans, and occupying the whole Soubah or Province of Lahore, the principal part of Moultan, and the western part of Delhi. Their capital city is Lahore. The system of their religion is derived from Nanock; some call him a Thibetian philosopher; but he was probably born in 1469, at Tulwundy, a small village in the neighbourhood of Lahore. His tenets strictly forbad the adoration of images, and he enjoined that the places of public worship should be simply constructed, and without any ornament or figures. He admitted no subordinate mediation of Deities, but addressed his devotions solely to one God. Yet, though his creed differs so essentially from that of the Hindus, the ground work of both is the same. He is said to have written a book in a character partly of his own invention, which is held in the highest veneration by his followers.

Forster's Travels overland from India.

Wilkins's account of the Seiks, and their College at Patna.

The Seiks admit proselytes from all religions; many converts, however, from the Indian classes still continue their ancient distinctions of rank and ceremonies, though against the law of their founder. Their common food is the Pursaud or sacred bread, made of flour, *ghee*, and spices; and no class or tribe is excluded from partaking of it. The mode of initiation* is simple, denoting the

Clarified Butter.

Hist. E. I. Vol. I. p. 462.

* Raynal says, that the proselyte was only required to swear implacable hatred against monarchy.

equality of all the followers of Nanock, and designed to subvert that fabric of form and ceremony, which the Hindus are now taught to consider as the most essential part of their religion.

The doctrines of Nanock did not at first raise many followers, but his successors in the priesthood changing the original plan of their founder, adopted in a great measure a military life. Under those priests who were their only governors, they were alternately favoured or persecuted by the Mogul princes. The larger portion of their converts were of the tribes of the Jauts and Goojers *, who are skilful husbandmen, but notorious for a turbulent and restless temper, and were easily attracted to the standard of the Seiks, by the hopes of plunder.

The situation of the Seik country, the vicinity of the Panjab mountains, where their doctrines had been most widely circulated, and where they had at first formed a military body, continued to augment their power, and afford them shelter against a superior force. Seated on the skirts of forests and mountains impervious to cavalry, they enjoyed also the benefits arising from the vicinity of an opulent populous territory, which at once afforded a store of converts and plunder. But, with these advantages, they must have eventually fallen under the repeated attacks of the Mogul princes, whose armies were in continual pursuit of them, and who also issued the severest edicts against the propagation of their opinions. Their power was on the decline, when the greatness of the Mogul empire was annihilated by the death of Aurungzebe; the disciples of Nanock now "rushed into the field, and participated in the "varying fortunes of the day." During the Persian and Afghan invasions, their numbers greatly increased, and they soon rose to the highest military importance.

The government of the Seiks is popular, and the deference

* The Goojers are seated in Upper India, of the fourth class of Hindus, and equally exercise the profession of agriculture and arms.—The Jauts are in the same class.

paid to the chiefs depends, in a great measure, upon the opinion entertained of their capacity. In their civil regulations, equality of rank is strictly maintained. In cases of public emergency*, treaties of peace, subjects of war and revenue general councils, are summoned, where each member has the right of giving his opinion, and the majority decide. The civil and military officers are appointed in these councils, in the field they choose a common chief, who acts as dictator; but his power ceases on a peace†, and he then returns to his private station in his own community. Since the extension of their dominions, an independent policy seems to have been pursued by the different states, nor since the period of the Afghan invasions, have the Seiks been united in any common cause. Their disposition is in general haughty, independent, and vindictive; they are brave, hardy, and temperate, and contented with the plainest and coarsest diet. Their forces principally consist of cavalry, and their activity has, more than any thing, contributed to their unparelleled success.

Madajee Scindia, and the Northern branch of the Mahratta Empire, are the neighbours of the Seiks. They bear a rooted hatred to the Mahomedans, more especially the Afghans, not only from religious prejudices, but from the remembrance of the persecutions and cruelties they suffered under the Mogul princes, and the Afghan adventurers.

Should any future cause call forth the combined forces of the commonwealth, either to maintain their empire or religion, we may probably see an ambitious chieftain usurping the Sovereignty, and becoming a terror to the surrounding states.

See on this subject Forster's Travels.

De Morib. German. Tacit. vii. 21.

* De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes.

† Duces ex virtute sumunt. Nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas; et duces exemplo potius quàm imperio, si prompti, si conspicui: si ante aciem agant, admiratione præsunt.

APPENDIX FOR THE SECOND PART.

No. 1.—DÆMONS, BRAHMIN MARKS.

Refers to Page 149 and 387.

On the different Marks on the foreheads of the Hindus.

"THE Brahmin marks the forehead of all, both men and "women, that come to pray at the Pagoda, with a particular co- "lour, wherewith he also besmears the idol; for being thus marked, "they believe that the evil spirit cannot hurt them, as being "under the protection of their God." Tavernier's Indian Travels, Part II. Book III.

No. 2.—VOLUNTARY SACRIFICES, PENANCES, &c.

Refers to Page 160.

VOLUNTARY devotions have often been the effect of exalted patriotism; the Greek and Roman histories afford many noble examples of a Codrus, a Curtius, a Decius, but the Indian history alone furnishes us with extraordinary proofs of the contempt of life, when unembittered by outward ills, or only excited by the operation of private feeling. The Christian has often, in the moment of torture, evinced his ease, and fortitude, and satisfaction; but this has been principally under the infliction of a punishment which

he could not avoid: the Hindoo seeks pain as a pleasure, and welcomes death as a glory. Calanus * threw himself upon the funeral pile in the presence of Alexander and his assembled army. In the reign of Augustus, a Gymnosophist or Sarman, who attended the embassy sent by Porus, prepared his own pyre, and burned himself to ashes, before the Athenians. Bernier describes this practice as prevailing in defiance of every prohibition from the Tartar princes. Many of these voluntary sacrifices were also conducted with circumstances of singular ferocity; nor has the practice ceased, though it has been considerably checked by the influence of the British Government. The Gentoo code assigns, on the sacred authority of the Vedas, an immense *reward in Paradise*, to the woman who sacrifices herself; and perhaps the scorn in which the widow was treated, or the privations to which she must submit, if she survived her husband, may have had a great effect in teaching her to despise the fear of death, when life was no longer honourable. Instances abound of this romantic enthusiasm. Mr. Orme, in his history of the Carnatic war, mentions a Polygar Rajah, who, on the prospect of the capture of his fort, rather than be defiled by the touch of an European idolater, committed himself, his wives, and his family to the flames. Hence also the treatment of those, who are on the point of death, which, however singularly barbarous it may appear to us, is a meritorious act on the part of the Hindoo. The sick person is carried to the banks of the sacred river, plunged into the water up to his throat, and then forced under the stream, whilst his convulsive shrieks are drowned with frightful shouts and clappings, and the reason given is, " à fin " que l'ame en sortant soit lavée de toutes les impuritez qu'elle

Sur les Gentils de l'Hindostan, Vol. I. See also Tavernier's Indian Trav. Part II. Book II.

Pref. XLVII. c. xx. p. 286.

See Waring's Sheeraz, p. 63.

Bernier des Gentils, Vol. I. p. 149.

Maurice's M. H. H. p. 126.

* Calanus was probably a Yogee, he was the only one whom Alexander could prevail upon to attend him into Persia. " The Greeks applied the term Brach- " man indiscriminately to the Priest who officiated in the Indian Temples, and the " Yogee who wandered without clothes or food in the solitude of the desert."

" auroit pû contracter dedans le corps." Nor is this merely a vulgar error, but an opinion entertained among the learned. In most places of the Coromandel Coast, the women are not burned, but buried alive in holes made by the Brahmins; they usually choose a sandy place, the victim is then placed in her grave, baskets of sand being brought by the attendant friends, who fill up the hole, and jump and dance over it, till they believe the woman is stifled. The Mahomedan Travellers in the ninth century assert, that the Chinese as well as the Indians believed in the Metempsychosis; " and it is thereto owing, that they often murder their children, " when they think they cannot maintain them, and that they " butcher them with so little regret." The Pagan Arabs adopted the same practice; the Metempsychosis was probably known to them from their intercourse with Persia and India; but they chiefly confined their cruelty to their daughters.—Vide Sale, Koran, Vol. I. p. 62, 174. Prel. Dis.

Tavernier's I.T. P. II. B. III.

Renaudot A. Relations, p. 32, 33. Notes to China.

No. 3.—DRUIDS, MAGI, ORDEAL.

Refers to Pages 163, 167, 192.

It is an inevitable mistake of the human mind to carry the imperfection of its own nature into the idea it forms of a deity. The deep conviction we have every moment of our own weakness, prevents us from conceiving how it is possible, for one single Being to move and support all parts of the universe. This notion will of course more particularly prevail with an ignorant people. Accordingly all barbarous nations have ever substituted, instead of the simple and uniform laws of nature, which were unknown to them, the operation of Spirits, Genii, and Divinities of all kinds, and have given them as assistants to the Supreme Being, in the moral and physical government of the world. The effect of these principles was not only seen in their public superstitions, but in their civil

Mallet's N. Antiq. p. 85.

regulations; for, in that early stage of society, religion and law are generally under the direction of the same ministers. A distinct power was thus attached to every natural object, and its agency was courted or deprecated according to the good or bad qualities supposed to be inherent in it. It is probable, that the ancient Magian, Druidical, and Brahminical rites, sprung from the same source; for among all the nations that followed their tenets, we can observe the prevalence of the same practices. In cases of intricacy, where human law was defective, an appeal was made to Heaven; or its decrees were divined by certain processes only known to the ministers of religion. The elements were supposed to be animated by an intelligence as incorruptive in justice, as the deity whence they sprung; their object was, therefore, to unite the accused person, to one of these Divinities, who was thus obliged to declare, by the manner of his acting upon him, what judgment he entertained of his innocence. But besides the elements, the sun, the moon, the stars, rocks, trees, winds, every object in nature was supposed to have a separate consciousness or presiding intelligence, which were the instruments of good or evil to the sons of men. The watery and fiery ordeal of the northern nations, bears the closest analogy to those of the eastern world. An instance of the ordeal trial is recorded in the early history of the sacred Ram of the Hindus, whose wife, Seetah Devee, had been carried away by the arts of a Magician: To be convinced of her innocence, the prince commanded her to be judged by the ordeal trial, and Seetah, eager to prove her truth and purity, walked unhurt over the burning iron. "*Her feet*," says the story, "*being shod with innocence, the scorching heat* "*was to her a bed of flowers.*" The Gentoo code on justice, C. III. makes particular mention of the Purrakeh, as the distinguishing criterion of guilt and innocence. The practice is still religiously adhered to, nor do the most learned Pundits refuse to attend the ceremonial.

Magi, Druids.

Mallet's N. Antiq. 80, 108.

Ordeal.

Forster's Travels.

See Diss. on the Ordeal Trial, Asiat. Resear.

The Chinese are devoted to all the practices of sorcery, and

traces of these superstitious rites are visible in other parts of the world; European nations have not even long abolished them.—See a curious account of a water ordeal, Symes's Ava, p. 468.

No. 4.—HUMAN SACRIFICES.

Refers to Page 167.

Almost all the nations of antiquity appear, at various periods, to have been addicted to this horrid rite. The story of Abraham's offering his son Isaac was generally known throughout the East; mixed, however, with many fabulous circumstances, and the Gentile nations, ignorant of, or perverting the occasion of its first institution, thought the favour of Heaven was only effectually to be gained by a human holocaust.

The Gymnosophists of Æthiopia are admitted by Heliodorus, to have sacrificed boys to the sun, and girls to the moon, and the colonies sent by them into Ægypt, continued the custom. It is said, that they sacrificed strangers or men with red hair, on the tomb of Osiris, (whose mortal enemy Typhon was of that colour) or on the stones consecrated to the sun; whilst women were probably offered to the moon, in a small town, called by the Greeks Ilythya. Diodorus mentions a custom of the ancient Æthiopians, of obliging two strangers found on their coast to embark on the ocean in a small boat, which was committed to the mercy of the winds and tides. This was to expiate the sins of the people. The inhabitants of the Tauric Chersonese, the modern Krim, sacrificed all strangers cast on their coast to Diana. Prideaux asserts from ancient testimonies, that the Ægyptians offered no bloody sacrifices, until after the reign of the Ptolemies, who introduced new Deities, and thereby altered their ancient simple offerings of cakes, and the fruits of the earth. Herodotus, however, describes them in his time, as

De Pauw, Egypt & China.

Maurice, M. H. H. Vol. I. p. 112, 190.

Vol. III. Part II. Book I. p. 19.

sacrificing some animals to their Gods. The cruel practice of offering a virgin to the Nile, in order to preserve the increase of its waters, was only abolished by Amru on his conquest of Egypt; and from Socrates Scholasticus we learn, that on clearing the ruins of a temple of Mithra or the Sun, at Alexandria, the skulls of many human victims were found in the Adytum. But this custom must have been introduced by the Greeks and Romans, or other nations, as they made no part in the ancient service of Mithra. The Chaldæans and Phœnicians were addicted to this rite, and from them the Jews, though forbidden by the most terrible threatenings of the law, adopted the barbarous practice of offering their children to Moloch and other Phœnician Deities. The ancient Persians are said to have sacrificed horses, as the swiftest animals, to the sun, as he was supposed to be the swiftest of planets; but that they did not confine their offerings solely to animals, may be collected from the fact of their having buried alive fourteen children, to restore the health of a Persian Princess. The Hindus anciently sacrificed animals and men, and particular rules to this effect, were laid down in their sacred books. Buddha however abolished it among his followers. All the northern nations entertained the same notions, the Germans, Danes, Swedes, Goths, and Gauls. The Latins sacrificed to Saturn. All the nations of Scythian or Tartar origin, at the funerals of their kings and great men, were accustomed to offer human victims. "In China they formerly buried slaves with their kings, and some-"times concubines, and in memorial of this practice, they substi-"tute at present the more harmless one of burning representa-"tions of the domestics of the deceased, made of tin foil, and "placing their statues, made of wood or stone, upon the graves." Renaudot relates, on the authority of the Mahomedan travellers, that, in the kingdom of the *Balhara* or Zamorin, it was usual, on the accession of a new monarch, for many persons to engage themselves to a voluntary burning when he should die, and that this promise was always punctually fulfilled. The inhabitants of Ceylon

Julianus, c. ii. B. III.

Sonnerat, Vol. I. Liv. III. c. ii.

Barrow's China, p. 483.

Second Acct. p. 79. n. 1, p. 83.

did the same. In Tonquin China, when the King dies, many of the great lords consent to be burned alive with him. The present inhabitants of Asam, who are principally idolaters, follow the rites of the old Scythians and Gauls, burying, at the death of their great men, their wives, principal officers, servants, and every valuable article, which they suppose may be useful to them in a future state. The Mahrattas of the present day are strongly suspected of offering, on particular occasions, a human victim. In Orissa, the practice still exists, of burying the concubines of a man of rank, when his wife devotes herself, and compulsion is sometimes used, when other inducements will not prevail. "In America the Natchez, who were fire worshippers, and seated on the banks of the Missisippi, offered human victims to their deities. The Mexicans did the same, with circumstances of singular cruelty. The fears of the Romans, after the fatal battle of Cannæ, induced them to adopt the same inhuman rite; a Gallus and Galla, a Græcus and Græca, were sacrificed in the Boarian Forum*, a practice, says the historian, which had been cruelly pursued eleven years before.

Vansittart in the Asiatic Researches.

Tavernier's Indian Travels, Part II. B. III. Chap. xvii.

Buchanan, Exp. Ecc. Est. p. 104.

Robertson's America, Vol. II. B. IV.

Livy, Vol. III. Lib. XXII.

Having once, says Mr. Mallet, laid it down as a maxim, that the effusion of the blood of animals, appeased the anger of the gods, and that their justice turned aside upon the victims, those strokes which were destined for men, their great care was then for nothing more, than to conciliate their favour by so easy a method. It is the nature of violent desires and excessive fear to know no bounds. Ignorance suggested fear, and fear cruelty; hence that impious prejudice, which soon made them think the gods as sanguinary as themselves, and when, therefore, they would ask for

Northern Antiq. Vol. I. p. 132, 140.

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* Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta, inter quæ Gallus et Galla, Græcus et Græca, in foro Boario sub terra vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo conseptum, jam ante hostiis humanis, *minimè Romano sacro*, imbutum.

any favour, which they ardently desired; or would deprecate some public calamity, which they feared; the blood of animals was not deemed a price sufficient, but they began to shed that of men. These barbarous sacrifices had not altogether ceased with some of the northern nations of Europe, until the ninth century, when they were converted to Christianity.

The Indians have at present a Fête de Feu, in honour of one of their Deities, where they walk over heated stones to the sound of music, many of them carrying their children in their arms.—See Plate 67, Tom I. p. 247. Sonnerat Voyage aux Indes.

No. 5.—BUDDHA, FO, AMIDA, GAUDMA.

Refers to Page 173, et seq.

The Buddha of the Hindus was the son of Maya, and one of his epithets is Amita; the Fo of China was the son of Mó-ya, and one of his epithets is Om-e-too; perhaps Om-e-too may be derived from the Hindoo mystic word O'M.

Mosheim. Ecc. Tart. c. vii. sect. vi.

"Diversa huic a diversis tribuuntur nomina. Hieronymus, Clemens Alexandrinus aliique eum Buddham adpellant, à Siamensibus Sommono-codam; a Chinensibus Fo, sive Foe: à Japanensibus Xekia sive Xaka vel Schaka nominatur. Nam varia hæcce nomina uni nomina esse propria, &c."

Symes's Ava, 87, 210, 246, 298, 322, 496.

The precepts of the Birman religion indisputably arise from the same source as that of the Hindus; they admit the sanctity of the Brahminical sect, but deny its supremacy over their Rhahaans or Phongis. The Birmans, Peguers, and Siamese, as well as all nations, whose fundamental principles can be traced to the same source, and who acknowledge the Sanscrit as their holy text, seem all to manifest an equal aversion to animal slaughter, for

the sake of food. In the Birman Empire, this precept is less rigidly enforced; the inhabitants being allowed to eat game, or any thing that has died a natural death, or was slain by accident, or other hands. They abstain, however, from domestic animals, but grant them liberally to strangers. The Birmans are not so bigoted as the Hindus; abstemiousness is reckoned a virtue, but they seldom inflict on themselves disgusting tortures. Their great deity is Gaudma, the Goutema of the Hindus, his name is also Boodh or Budha, who is generally admitted by the Hindus to be the ninth Avatar, or the descent of the deity in the capacity of preserver. He reformed the doctrines of the Vedas, and censured the sacrifice of cattle. The Birmans acknowledge that they received their religion from the Cingalese of Ceylon. The Siamese * Sommono-Codam is apparently the same as Gaudma; for the Chinese deputies prostrated themselves before his image; he is therefore their Fo. Their *Dherma-Sastra* are commentaries upon the institutes of Menu. The Rhahaans correspond with the Brahmins. The Phongis, who are vulgarly called Talapoins, are an inferior order of priests. The sacred language of Ava, Pegu, and Siam, is the Pallis. Of their migration to Ægypt, &c. v. Symes á Wilford, p. 337, and for the curious ceremonies attendant on the inauguration of the Rhahaans and Phongis, No. 5, Appendix, ibid. Animal slaughter is there strictly prohibited.

Gaudma.

Body of Law.

I am persuaded, says Mosheim, that the followers of Budha separated into two families, the one professing the secret doctrine, or his atheistical opinions; the other worshipping idols, and believing in the transmigration of souls. These are variously dis-

Budha.

* The Emperor, Kien Long, entertained an idea, that these Deities had condescended to become incarnate in his person. Splendid temples are erected in honour of Buddha, in various parts of Oriental Tartary, of which Poo-t-a-la, or the Convent of Buddha at Gehol, the Chinese Emperor's residence, is the most magnificent. Barrow's China, P. 228.

Mosheimii, Eccl. Tart. Hist. c. iii. sect. vi.

Du Halde.

Montesquieu E. des L. B. XIV. c. v.

Plate 49. Sonnerat, Voy. aux Indes, and Maurice.

persed. In Siam they are Talapoins, in China Bonzes, in Tartary Lamas, but they all acknowledge the Dalai Lama as their Sovereign Pontiff. "Ils sont persuadez que Foe vit en lui, "qu'il sçait tout, qu'il voit, qu'il est immortel, et quand il paroit "mourir, il ne fait que changer de demeure en renaissant dans "un corps tout neuf." Foe, says du Halde, endeavoured to reduce the heart to a mere vacuum. "We have eyes and "ears, but perfection consists in neither seeing nor hearing; a "mouth, hands, &c. but perfection requires, that these mem-"bers should be inactive." The Indians seem indeed, in many respects, to believe that repose and non-existence are the foundation of all things, and the end, in which, they terminate. The state of inaction is, therefore, considered the most perfect of all states. The Siamese consider the greatest happiness to be a state of absolute rest and freedom from all motion. Veeshnu is represented in the Indian mythology, as reposing upon a serpent, which serves him for a throne, in a sea of milk, "il dort d'un sommeil con-"templatif."

No. 6.—TARTARS AND THIBET.

Refers to Page 182.

Before the conquest of India and Persia, there is every reason to believe, that the tribes of Tartars and Moguls were perfectly unlettered, and that their traditional accounts of one Supreme Being were involved in the grossest obscurity. It is, however, related of Zenghis Khan, that he was a Deist, that he listened attentively to the arguments of the Doctors, sent expressly to convert him to Islam, concerning the being and attributes of God, and readily admitted that they were unanswerable; but at the same time he contested the evidence

of the Prophet's divine legation. His descendant, Tamerlane, could neither write nor read. The Thibetians, to whom Bootan is a fief, or dependency, are now in a high state of civilization, considering the nature of their climate and their connections with Tartary; but these advantages are probably owing to the Tartar Princes of China, to whom they are tributary, and who, since their accession to the Empire, have taken some pains, by the aid of Europeans, to improve the manners and sciences of the country.

No. 7.—SABIAN RITES, DIVINATION, ASTROLOGY.

Refers to Pages 145, 179, 192.

"Sabii olim agnoscebant & hodie agnoscunt Deum esse conditorem mundi, & cœli possessorem; sed propter nimiam distantiam et plurimùm reverendam majestatem non esse accessibilem; ipsosq. non posse adire illum immediatè, ne nimis audaces videantur." Hyde Rel. Vet. Persar. cap. v.

They approached him, therefore, "more regum," by ministers, who were, "angelos et planetas, ut mediatores, quos septem minores Reges esse putant in luminosis illis corporibus habitantes ut in tot Palatiis aut Sacellis." Others of them had their temples, or Sacella, in which images were placed, dedicated to their particular Stars. At length the Astrologers erected images, said to be endued with the particular virtues of the Planets. Plants, metals, and animals, were supposed to be impregnated by their influence, and no business was undertaken unless the Planet was in such a particular aspect.—See Turner's Thibet, p. 292.

The Hindus and the Chinese, the Persians, as well as all the Mahomedans of the East, are devoted to judicial astrology. There is not an event of the smallest, or of the highest moment, which must not be determined by the Astrologers: if a king is to be crowned,

or a marriage to be celebrated, the Stars must be consulted, and their good or bad aspects and conjunctions equally decide upon the fate of an Empire, or the happiness of an individual*. Chardin relates, that the successor of Shah Abbas II. disturbed by an irruption of the Tartars into his dominions, earthquakes, and the rumours of a Turkish war, after having been crowned as Sephi the Second, was, from his own superstitious scruples, and the deliberate advice of his counsellors, recrowned as Solyman III. a name, which, it was conceived, would be more propitious. The public money was also recoined, when the fortunate moment of inauguration had been fixed by the Astrologers. Many years have not elapsed since Europe was equally infected with this folly, and amulets have not even now lost all their fancied charms with people who think themselves wiser than the vulgar.

The Birmans, though Budhists, ascribe to the Brahmins the highest honours: their superiority in science to their own Priests encourages this prejudice, and their addiction to astrology, renders them necessary in all the houses of the great. The King of Ava retains several in his service, and consults them upon all occasions, even of the slightest moment. Their predictions are in universal esteem. Major Symes writes, that the Viceroy of Pegu dared not embark on the river, until the Brahmins had announced the propitious moment.

Ava, p. 220.

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* See Bernier's Description of Delhi and Agra. Tavernier's Persian Travels, Book V. chap. i. and xiv.

"Tour to Sheeraz." The description given of the modern Persians by Mr. Scott Waring, shews that their love for astrology, is as strong now, as in the times of their fathers.

No. 8.—CREESHNA.

Refers to Page 159, 176, 200.

Creeshna, who is considered to be the same with the Grecian Apollo, is the favourite Deity of the Hindus; his disciples adore him with almost an exclusive devotion, and maintain, that his Avatar is the most illustrious of any, being the descent of Veeshnu himself in a human form, but in all the plenitude of the Godhead. The general outline of Creeshna's romantic story, may have been long anterior to the birth of Christ; but from the similarity of many passages in his life, to that of our Saviour, Sir W. Jones has been induced to believe that they are interpolations from the spurious Gospels, which, in the early ages of Christianity, found their way into the East. This opinion is still further confirmed by the subsequent discoveries of Captain Wilford, who asserts, that many of the Sanscrit writings, to which, a great antiquity has been attributed, were not only composed after the Christian era, but that they contain particulars of the advent, birth, life, miracles, death, and resurrection of our Saviour. Mr. Maurice traces this analogy from the ancient traditionary accounts preserved by the children of Noah, of the future deliverance and redemption of mankind by an incarnate Deity.

Bernier des Gentils, p. 174, de l'Hindoostan, Vol. II. p. 270, &c.

Buchanan Exp. Eccles. Est. p. 119.

Ancient Hist. Hindoostan.

No. 9.—ÆTHIOPIA, INDIA, ST. THOMAS.

Refers to Pages 263, 275, 284, 291.

" Indiæ nomen latissimé patet, non enim tantum sumitur de India " propriè dicta, &c. &c. sed etiam de regionibus aliis Asiæ & Africæ,

Fabric. Lux Evang. cap. xxxvi. p. 631.

Hyde, Relig. Vet. Persar. p. 37.

"Lybia, Ægypto, Æthiopia, Arabia, &c. Æthiopes, Garamæ, seu "Garamantes, a quibusdam impropriè vocabantur Indi, quia utriq. "eorum erant ejusdem coloris; ut, ultra Garamantas et Indos pro- "tulit imperium."

Socrat. Schol. Lib. I. c. xix.

The Æthiopians were usually confounded by the Ancients with the Indians, and some difficulty appears in the ecclesiastical writers about this Frumentius, who is by some supposed to have really passed into India, and there preached to the natives; whereas, by others, he is considered to be the same person, with the Frumentius here mentioned the first Bishop of Axum, and that his converts were only Abbassins or Æthiopians. Bartholomew is reported to have *had that India* assigned him which lies on the confines of Æthiopia, "*Indi qui dicuntur fortunati*;" and that it was not until the second century that this innermost India was converted. The Abyssinians then professed, as the Sabæan Homerites of Arabia, the Sabian superstitions. They were more thoroughly converted to Christianity by Frumentius, A. D. 333.

Buchanan, Exp. E. E. p. 56.

Fabric. Lux Evang. cap. xxxiv. p. 628. Ibid. cap. v. p. 104. Bruce's Trav. Vol. I. p. 500.

Fabric. Lux Evang. cap. v. p. 109.

Parthis et Medis, et Persis, et Carmanis, et Hyrcanis, et Bactris, et *Magis* prædicavit Evangelium Domini. Dormivit in civitate Calamina quæ est Indiæ. Kircher calls this city Meliapour. For *Magis* lege "Bragmanis."

Origin of the Christian Rel. in China.

Renaudot says, that there is no evidence of St. Thomas having preached in China, and that there is no trace of the Christian religion having been established there before the year 636, when it was introduced by the Nestorians.

Fabric. c. xxxix. p. 654.

Suntq. non pauci qui Thomæ Apostolo tam Sinarum quam Indorum conversionem acceptam ferant. "When the Por- "tuguese arrived at Cochin, the Principal of the Malabar "churches styled himself Metropolitan of India and China." There are other testimonies of St. Thomas having been in China. "Ad Chinas, *Seres* Tartaros maturè pervenisse.

Mosheim. Eccl. Tart. Hist. p. 8.

" *Seres*, non alios esse quam Chinenses hodiè a nemine in dubium " vocatur."

The *Parthia* here described, from having been only an inconsiderable province, became, 19 years after the death of Alexander, by the establishment of the throne of the Arsacidæ, who made themselves masters of all that the Seleucidæ possessed, from Mesopotamia to the Indies, the most flourishing kingdom of Asia. This power subsisted until the year of Christ 229, when Artaxerxes founded the second kingdom of the Persians. The *Parthia* allotted to Thomas comprehended all that lay beyond the Tigris and Euphrates, and consequently the Indies made a part of his apostleship.

Bartholomew probably went from Æthiopia to India by one of the vessels trading to the Erythræan Sea.

Meliapour was called San Thomé by the Portuguese. It is a mount near Madras, on, or not far from, the site of the ancient Meliapour.

The relation of this visit of St. Thomas to Meliapour, may perhaps have met with some difficulty from the story of another Thomas, a disciple of Manes, who was sent into those parts to propagate the Gnostic heresies. In the appeals made to the Emperors, in this and the following centuries, the Indi are included in the number of converts to the Christian faith. Fabricius Lux Evang. p. 33, 35, 36, 37, 93, 104, 109.

Euseb. Lib. V. c. x. Mosheim, E. H. Sect. III. P. II. c. i. Maurice, A.H. Hindoostan, Vol. II. p. 804. Renaudot, A.R. Dissertation on Christian Religion, p. 80.

At the Council of Nice, in 325, the Primate of India was present, and subscribed his name. Frumentius, in the following year, founded many churches in Hindoostan. In the fifth century, a Christian Bishop from Antioch, accompanied by a small colony of Syrians, arrived in India, and preached the Gospel on the Malabar Coast, where they at first made some proselytes among the Brahmins and Naïrs, and were, on that account, highly respected. *These* are the *San Thome* Christians.

Buchanan, E. E. E. p. 56.

Ibid.

No. 10.—JESUITS.

Refers to Pages 177, 180, 301.

The Jesuits, zealous to increase the number of their converts, and thereby exalt their own power, made such concessions to the Chinese, in point of doctrine, and particularly in allowing the sacrifices offered in the Hall of Ancestors to deceased relations, that numbers embraced their faith, still retaining many of their former superstitions. The Dominicans consigned these converts to eternal damnation, and condemned the practices of the Jesuits, who asserted, that they had come among them solely for the purpose of restoring the religion of Confucius to its original purity. An appeal was made to Rome, and the Pope issued a Bull against the Jesuits, who, however, prevailed upon the Chinese Emperor to sanction their mode of conversion, and the Pope was at length prevailed upon to accede to it. Bulls, ambassadors, and excommunications, passed so frequently, and created such violent commotions among the opposing Sectaries, that the Emperor Kaung Shee was at length compelled to interfere, and the Christian religion was interdicted *from being preached* in all his dominions. A persecution arose in the reign of his successor, and such difficulties have since arisen from the despotism of the Government, the quarrels of the Orders, and the prejudices of the people, as to preclude all present hope of any favourable success to the Gospel in that Empire.

Barrow's China, passim.

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*** Abbreviations.—Mt. or Mts. Mountain or Mountains.—Prov. Province.—C. City.—S. Sea.—Ap. Appendix.—Introd. Introduction.—T. Town.—Is. Island.—L. Lake.—Pt. Port.

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